THE SECOND TEMPLE IN JERUSALEM

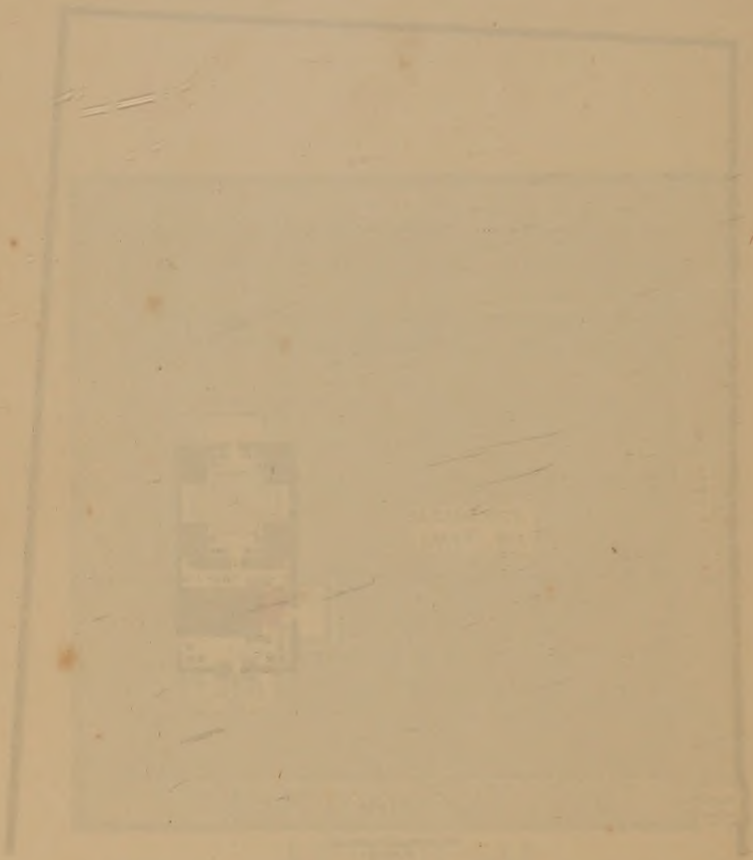
W. SHAW CALDECOTT

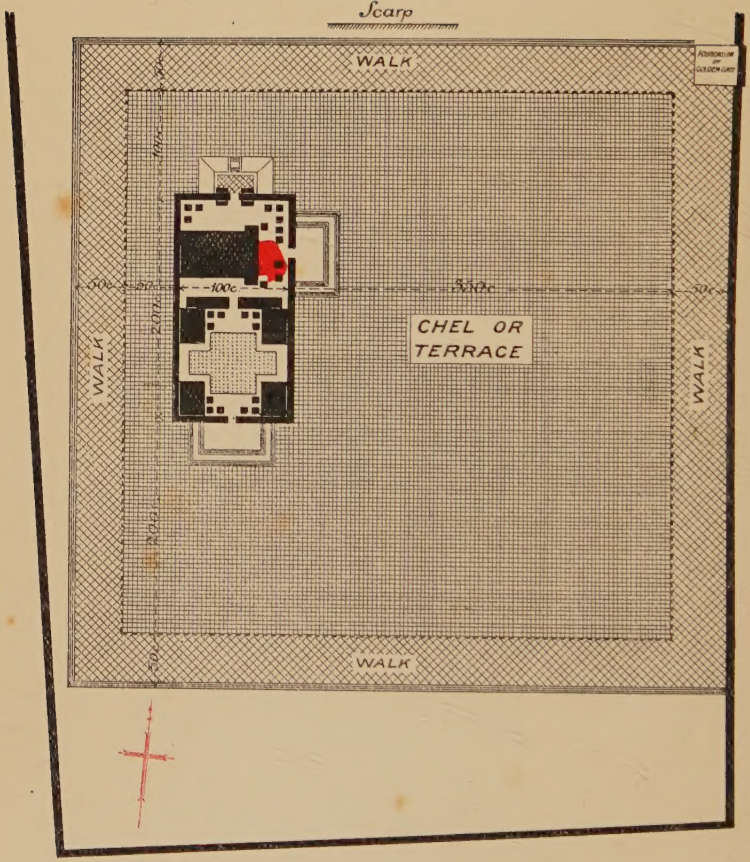
INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN
GRADUATE UNIVERSITY

25

M. R. Betton.
May 1913.

THE SECOND TEMPLE IN JERUSALEM





DESCRIBED SITE OF EZEKIEL'S TEMPLE ON MORIAH.

Scale 264·2 feet = 1 inch.
1 cubit = 1½ feet.

See Part II, chapter II.

Frontispiece.

THE SECOND TEMPLE IN JERUSALEM

ITS HISTORY AND ITS STRUCTURE

BY W. SHAW CALDECOTT

(*Member of the Royal Asiatic Society*)

AUTHOR OF

"THE TABERNACLE"; "SOLOMON'S TEMPLE"

"To know the Bible you must be—there is no help for it—a biblical critic, and to be a biblical critic you must know how the Bible came to be."

LONDON

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

1908

INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN
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DEDICATED

TO

THE REV. A. H. SAYCE, D.D., LL.D.

IN ADMIRATION OF
HIS RARE SCHOLARSHIP
AND
PROFOUND LOYALTY TO THE TEXT
OF
THE WRITTEN WORD

15482

PREFACE

THERE are, I think, but two good reasons why any one should inflict yet another book upon a patient and overburdened public. One is, that he should be stylist enough to say again what he has said before, and to say it in such alluring way that his fellow-men cannot but read him. To such a singular claim the writer of this book makes no pretensions. Style confers immortality, but when style of such distinction is hopelessly beyond a man, he is compelled —if write he must—to aim merely at lucidity, and so to write as that he shall be easy of understanding. The Macaulay among biblical writers is still in the future, but every private in the regiment of writers may remember the word of the great Julius and avoid any obsolete or unusual word, as he would a rock. This counsel I have had in memory.

The only other reason, in my philosophy, why a man may write a book and be acquitted of any charge of vanity or folly that may be brought against him, is that he has something to say which, so far as he knows, has not yet been said.

If he has this and can say it with sufficient modesty he may, I think, trust the good nature of his fellow-men to overlook minor blemishes and to consider only what is written—not how.

This preface being in the nature of an explanation and apology, I may, perhaps, be allowed to say what, in my opinion, is that something here which the reader will not meet with elsewhere, and which is to reward him for the trouble of perusal.

The title page will have told him that the book is largely one of an architectural restoration of a building, the existence of which has not seldom been denied or forgotten. As, however, architects—to whom scientific data are of special interest—are a minority of the reading world, the publisher has most considerately allowed the results of a good deal of technical work to appear in a series of drawings which any one may understand ; some of which, for further ease in reference, are placed, free, in a pocket of the cover.

The earlier and larger portion of the book being concerned with the subjects of biography and history as they group themselves around the sacred building, I have tried to give, in these chapters, a reasoned account of that most difficult of writers, Ezekiel, its architect, and of that most elusive of saints, the prophet Daniel. These two men lived on the threshold of the great emancipation of the Jewish mind from materialism in their

conceptions of God ; and, when looked at on the plane of Eastern habits of mind and thought, are found to be full of a kind of divine humanity—a halo which is commonly unperceived through Western modes of thought and speech.

Following these, two other personages cross the stage of Jewish history. They were contemporaries, but by no means alike. One was the unpractical but devout student, Ezra ; the other, the noble and successful layman, Nehemiah. Both were governors of restored Judah, and each contributed something to the making of that later Judaism on the stage of which the world's tragedy took place.

Biographies of these four men, with their setting of minor characters, are not new, and do not constitute a history of the chosen people between the fall of the first Temple and the second. While this is so, it is to be remembered that the great process of literary evolution is always at work, and modern critical scholarship, archæology in particular, has done much to recast our ideas as to revelation and the interpretation of Scripture. In the main, a determined and hostile attitude has been assumed by it toward the historic characters of the Old Testament. In every case the first use made of liberty by a nation is a bad use, and the first use made of any fresh fact in the field of theology is usually, and perhaps necessarily, a destructive one. In these pages, however, such of the new facts as have come

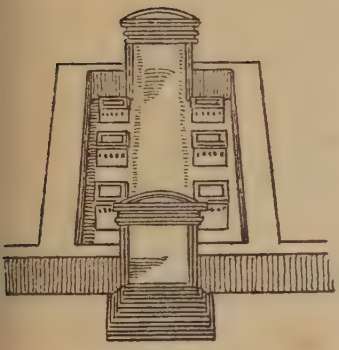
within the writer's purview have been used constructively. The time seems to have come, or to be about to come, when analysis may give place to synthesis, and when from the wrecks of half-abandoned faiths may be built up in a bewildered Christendom the structure of an assured and enlightened confidence. Whether the portion attempted within these covers, as a part of the great argument, rests upon a foundation of rock or of sand, Time, the revealer, will disclose. In the meantime, any man's utmost hope is to "serve his own generation by the counsel of God," and having done this, both man and book must needs give place to others. Such work, though temporary, has in itself the promise and potency of future good, and is like unto the trees of creation, of which each has its own fruit, the seed whereof is in itself.

A word may be said, in fine, as to the fact that the title of the book does not quite cover the ground of the writing. This is an inevitable result—the volume being one of a series. Setting out, nearly ten years ago, to write a monograph on each of the four sacred buildings of the Jews, I found myself compelled to surround each of these subjects by a larger field of historic setting, and have thus been led over a wider area than that of the more immediate object. The fault is, however, one which should admit of easy condonement. Some books do not come up to the promise of their title. If here and there one

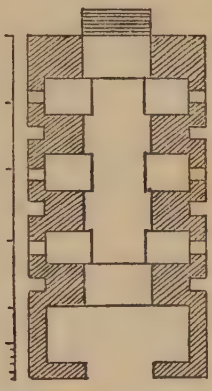
should exceed that measure, the reader, surely, will not complain.

I am, once more, indebted to my good friend, the Rev. Henry T. Hooper, for his kindness in reading the proofs and for giving me the benefit of his criticisms and suggestions.

Note.—The tracings given below are taken from the earliest and the latest known reconstructions of Ezekiel's Temple plan. They are divided by a



From the Geneva Bible, 1560.
Ezekiel, Chap. xl.



From the Cambridge Bible for Schools.
"Ezekiel," by A. B. Davidson, d.d., 1896.

period of nearly 350 years, and are meant to show the position of the six lodges at the East Gate of Ezekiel's Temple. Their true position, which is different, may be seen on the large plan accompanying this volume.

From a comparison of the above drawings one

with another their essential similarity will be apparent, thus showing that in the interim of their production no satisfactory scheme of Temple reconstruction has been before the public.

W. S. C.

BOURNEMOUTH, *June*, 1908.

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Ezekiel's Temple Plan and Scale

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PART I

THE HISTORY

THE SECOND TEMPLE

CHAPTER I

EARLY YEARS OF EZEKIEL'S LIFE AND MINISTRY

THE year 606–5 B.C. was one of fateful interest for the Hebrew nation and monarchy. A state of active war then existed between the two great Powers, Egypt and Babylon. The struggle was for supremacy and the lordship of the world. Each in turn occupied Jerusalem, as the capital of a buffer and border State.

On the death of his father at the battle of Megiddo, Necho placed Jehoiakim, the eldest son of Josiah, upon the throne of Judah as Satrap-king under the suzerainty of Egypt. Then followed Nebuchadrezzar's victory over the forces of Egypt in the battle of Carchemish, now *Jerablûs*. Two years later Prince Nebuchadrezzar—not yet king—with a Babylonian army, appeared at the gates of Jerusalem. This was done as a challenge to Egypt. The gates were opened, and Judah now became a province of the Babylonian Empire (2 Kings XXIV. 1).* To mark his victory

* Unless otherwise stated, all the citations of and references to Scripture in this volume are to the Revised Version of the English Bible.

in the battle of Carchemish, celebrated by Jeremiah,* Nebuchadrezzar carried off a portion of the vessels of the Temple, and also certain youths of noble and royal blood (Dan. I. 1–4). These were not hostages for good behaviour, as there was no intention of returning them to the land of their fathers.

Taken to Babylon, they were—in fulfilment of a prophecy to Hezekiah (2 Kings XX. 18)—mutilated, and handed over to Ashpenaz, the master of the eunuchs, to be trained as Court attendants and officials.

Amongst these unhappy victims of Eastern conditions of Palace life was the young son of Jehoiakim, Daniel by name. He could not have been more than ten or twelve years of age, as his father was twenty-five when he came to the throne (2 Kings XXIII. 36), and this domestic calamity came to him when he was in the third year † of his reign, and therefore in the twenty-eighth year of his age (Dan. I. 1). We gain a further insight into the youthfulness of Jehoiakim's eldest son at the time of his surrender in the fact that for seventy years Daniel survived his deportation to Babylon, and was alive at the fall of the Empire under the blows of Cyrus the Persian ‡ (Dan. I. 21).

* Jer. XLVI., the date of which victory is given by him as having been gained in the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim. This was B.C. 605–4.

† Later Jewish Kings invariably were married young. e.g. Amon became the father of Josiah at the age of sixteen (comp. 2 Kings XXI. 19; XXII. 1).

‡ As the suggested relationship of Daniel to the royal family of Judah is new and unconventional, and therefore rightly to be called

The third year of the reign of Jehoiakim, King of Judah—B.C. 606–5—therefore marks the beginning of those seventy years of captivity which Jeremiah prophesied should come to Judah and Jerusalem (Jer. XXV. 11, 12; XXIX. 10).

Eight or nine years after the deportation of Daniel and the three Hebrew children, Nebuchadrezzar, then in the seventh year of his reign, again appeared before the walls of Jerusalem. His leniency in dealing with a rebellious subaltern (2 Kings XXIV. 1), whose offence was that of refusing the tribute imposed upon him, met with a return peculiarly Jewish. The King, Jehoiakim, was deposed and arrested and, while a prisoner, committed suicide, as all the items of evidence

in question, it may be well to give the evidence by which it is arrived at, in a series of formal propositions. They are:—

1. The warning to Hezekiah that of his personal descendants there should be eunuchs in the palace of the King of Babylon (2 Kings XX. 18). Daniel and his companions are the only persons known to history to whom this prophecy could have applied.

2. The statement that in the time of Jehoiakim certain of the children of Israel "even of the seed royal and of the nobles" were given into the care of the master of the eunuchs in Babylon (Dan. I. 3). (The term "seed royal" is elsewhere used as descriptive of King Zedekiah) (Ezek. XVII. 12, 13).

3. By the writer of the book which bears his name, Daniel was unlikely to be introduced as of royal birth. To have done so would have been to give increased publicity to the humiliation and disgrace of the royal house of Judah.

4. The release from prison of Jehoiachin, on the death of Nebuchadrezzar (2 Kings XXV. 27–30), is explained by supposing that he was Daniel's younger brother, and that the prophet's influence was used to this end.

5. See an inferred reference to Daniel in the text of the Deutero-Isaiah, where "an everlasting Name that shall not be cut off" is promised to some one eunuch. The change of pronoun here from plural to singular is important, and would seem to refer to some one well-known individual holding a prominent place (Isaiah LVI. 5). Comp. footnotes pp. 99, 116.

before us show.* The deficiency in the tribute was taken from the Temple Treasures (2 Chron. xxxvi. 7), and sent to Babylon. A Chaldean noble was then put in charge of the State, in order to collect the taxes which the native rulers professed themselves unable to do. The political degradation which this dynastic change involved was one that the sons of Abraham found themselves unable to submit to. Even its record was unpalatable to the compilers of Chroncles and Kings, and the appointment of an alien ruler finds no place in their annals. But it remains the only possible antecedent to the events which followed and its non-record is, of itself, in harmony with the spirit of a people who, centuries later, still falsely boasted, "We have never yet been in bondage to any man" (John viii. 33).

Having placed his Viceroy upon the throne of Judah, Nebuchadrezzar withdrew his army. The historians of the day, however, reflect the popular feeling when they, neglecting the painful interregnum, state that Jehoiachin, at eighteen, followed his father Jehoiakim upon the throne (2 Kings xxiv. 8). The succession was not an immediate one.

Jehoiachin reigned in Jerusalem "three months and ten days" † (2 Chron. xxxvi. 9) (reminding one of the hundred days during which the Scourge of Europe made his last venture), when the Chaldean army reappeared at the gates of the city.

* Comp. *Solomon's Temple*, pp. 198, 211.

† This period covers the time it would take a runner to convey the news of the revolt to Babylon, and for a flying contingent of troops to march thence to Jerusalem.

These they now found closed against them by a desperate fanaticism, which had used its utmost courage in recognizing Jehoiachin as sovereign. The explanation of the army's return, of the defiance of the defenders, and of the severity that followed, can be accounted for only on the supposition of the murder of Nebuchadrezzar's representative. No other action but this could have had such tremendous consequences as those which now followed.

Nebuchadrezzar himself followed his army to Jerusalem after a short interval. His appearance was the signal for an unconditional surrender of the besieged. By his order a royal procession was formed, which issued from one of the Temple gates, long known—in consequence—as the "Gate of Jehoiachin," in which appeared the King, the Queen-Mother, Nehushta,* his wives, his uncle, Mattaniah, his officers of State and Palace attendants, the Princes of Judah and all the men of eminence in Jerusalem (2 Kings XXIX. 12).

Received into the Assyrian camp as prisoners of war, they must have been lodged in tents, with a total absence of ceremony, and fed on military rations. Then followed the fulfilment of the Prophet Jeremiah's warning that Jerusalem should be wiped as a dish is wiped, and turned upside down; for seven thousand soldiers, one thousand

* Nehushta ("the brasen") was the daughter of Elnathan (2 Kings XXIV. 8), an influential "prince" in Jerusalem (Jeremiah XXXVI. 12, 25), and one of the persecutors of Jeremiah. The prophecy of Jeremiah XIII. 18–27 is addressed to her as well as to Jehoiakim, showing that she had a large share in the policy of the Government, and was a woman of depraved character.

mechanics and artisans, and two thousand nobles and officials (Jer. XXIX. 2) were collected together, and deported to Babylon. This was in the year B.C. 597, and may be known as the Great Captivity, its victims exceeding in number those in any other of several removals.*

It was, probably, at this time that the Ark of the Covenant, with its precious deposits of the Tables of Stone and the manuscript book of Exodus, disappeared.

Of the prisoners of war now taken two deserve especial notice, though for different reasons.† One of these was the King's uncle, Mattaniah, youngest son of Josiah. Him the King of Babylon appointed Viceroy, over a collection of vine-dressers and herdsmen, at the same time taking an oath of him of loyalty and obedience—in the name of Jehovah. In token of his subordinate place, and to remind him of his oath, he changed his name to Zedekiah, "Jah is might" (2 Kings XXIV. 17; 2 Chron. XXXVI. 10). This choice of Zedekiah as King was probably made because, being three years older than his nephew, Jehoiachin, he had not headed the party of revolt at the elevation of the Jewish standard of rebellion.

The other unusual prisoner was a priest, twenty-

* The total of prisoners now taken is given in round numbers as 10,000 in 2 Kings XXIV. 14, not including their wives, children, and servants.

† Amongst the other captives was a youth named Kish, a Benjamite, who became the great-grandfather of Mordecai of the Book of Esther (Esther II. 6). The identification of Ahasuerus with Xerxes, the invader of Greece, is one of the first and most valuable results obtained from the deciphering of the cuneiform inscriptions.

five years of age, whose studies had been those of an architect. He was the possessor of a unique genius, and bears an imperishable name—Ezekiel. He describes himself as the son of Buzi, but tells us nothing else about his ancestry or dignity. That he was of good birth is, however, certain.

Ezekiel had been in the land of the Chaldeans for nearly five years when the spirit of prophetic utterance fell upon him. He lived in his own house by the Chebar, a canal, which passed Nippur, the modern Niffer, and does not seem to have had any intercourse with the royal and noble captives in the Palace at Babylon. They were a long way off, and had now been in the service of the State for some fourteen years, and it is well to remember that the streams of history in the works of Jeremiah, Daniel, and Ezekiel run, in part, in parallel lines, and may be used to illustrate one another.*

During these five years the feeble Zedekiah sat upon the throne in Jerusalem, and exercised a shadowy power as the nominee and vassal of Nebuchadrezzar. The years of his reign nearly coincide—its beginning being omitted—with those of the captivity of Jehoiachin and Ezekiel, and it is by their procession that most of the writings

* (1) The similarity extended even to the form in which their prophecies are given. As Ezekiel, by the Chebar, saw himself in vision in Jerusalem, measuring the Temple, so Daniel saw himself by the river Ulai, which is ten miles to the east of the city Shushan (Dan. VIII. 2).

(2) Jeremiah has, "Though Moses and Samuel stood before me" (Jer. XV. 1). Ezekiel writes, "Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job were in it" (Ezek. XIV. 14). Such literary coincidence cannot be accidental.

of Ezekiel are dated. With true literary instinct, the first of these dates departs from this rule, and is given as "the thirtieth year" (Ezek. I. 1, 2).

Much speculation has existed as to the era of these years, some supposing that they date from the new dynasty of Nabopolassar, others that they were the years since the last Jubilee. It is, however, plain that the prophet was writing subjectively, and that he wished to mark the day on which the call of God came to him to be His prophet. It was on the day named, when he was in his thirtieth year, that the call and vision came.*

Owing to this systematic chronological provision, there are few temporal difficulties as to the order and period of Ezekiel's prophecies.†

1. The first series of prophecies details Ezekiel's call to the prophetic office (II. 3, ff.), which was to be exercised to the members of the captivity, and foretold in graphic symbolism the siege and fall of Jerusalem (chapters I. to VII.), which took place six years later.

On receiving his commission, the prophet at once began his sad and hopeless task of preaching to his compatriots, and of suffering in their sight some of the deprivations and hardships which

* 1. It was not till they were thirty years of age that the Hebrew priests entered upon their full duties in the Temple (Num. IV. 3).

† "History is little more than a collection of disconnected facts or isolated biographies without chronology, the skeleton upon which it must be built. We cannot trace the connection between events or determine their development unless we know the relative dates to which they must be assigned.

"A system of chronology is as indispensable to the historian as the framework is to the scene that is painted thereon" (Sayce's *Babylonian Literature*, p. 16).

the besieged in Jerusalem should endure. Eighteen months—the period of the siege*—passed in this way, fourteen of which, or 430 days, were used as a sign to the House of Israel, during which time the prophet slept in the open air, having before him in miniature a rough picture of the coming siege, a representation of Jerusalem, being drawn on an eastern tile, before which large clay tablet was an iron plate typical of the iron siege which the city was to suffer.

2. Such strange conduct and such symbolic actions as Ezekiel showed would make him a man of mark amongst his fellows. It is, therefore, not strange to read that at the end of this period of eighteen months the Elders of Judah came before him for counsel as he sat in his house (Ezek. VIII. 1, ff.). Then a series of foul visions of what was transpiring in Jerusalem was given to him. He saw himself in the inner court of the Temple at the door that looked towards the north, which was the gate of sacrifice, here called "the gate of the Altar." Without this gate was an idol-image, probably that of the bull-god Apis—as this was the gate outside of which the larger animals destined for sacrifice were slaughtered.

A greater abomination followed. Seventy elders, i.e. civil officials of the House of Israel, with Jaazaniah, the son of Shaphan, at their head, were seen burning incense to another god than Jehovah, in the outer Holy Chamber of the Temple.

* The siege was interrupted by a movement from Egypt (Jer. XXVII. 11). The two periods, of the text, 390 and 40 days, may represent the two close investments of the city before and after the relief.

A third revelation was that at the northern gate of the southern court (to which alone women were admitted) there sat women weeping for Tammuz or Adonis—a well-known act of Phœnician idolatry.*

A fourth spectacle was that of about five-and-twenty men † standing on the platform of the Temple steps "between the porch and the altar,"‡ worshipping the rising sun. Than this no greater offence to Jehovah could be perpetrated by any of the Children of Israel, as it was a deification of the Baal of Nature, and a repudiation of the ancient faith.

Visions of coming judgments to fall upon the guilty city followed, the whole being contained in chapters VIII.–XI.

"All the things which the Lord had showed him Ezekiel spake unto them of the Captivity." Jeremiah was Jehovah's speaker in Judea, as Ezekiel was in Babylon. Both, however, found unwilling listeners.

* Tammuz was originally a Babylonian deity representing Spring, and took the form of a shepherd-youth loved of Istar or Venus. The Syrian Adonis was usually worshipped in June in the "Porches of Adonis." The "weeping" was on behalf of the annual departure of Spring and the coming of Winter.

† These were priests, whom, in scorn, the prophet will not call by that honourable name. The twenty-five men of XI. 1, who stood at the great East Gate, were not the same. Two of these at least were princes of the congregation, and, together, the whole body was probably that of the governing oligarchy of the nation. They are spoken of as directing its policy. The number of seventy, as that of the Elders of Israel (Ezek. VIII. 11), dates from the time of Moses (Ex. XXIV. 1).

‡ This was the usual place, on the steps of which the officiating priests stood when conducting the public services of the Temple. "Let the priests, the ministers of the Lord, weep between the porch and the altar" (Joel II. 17).

3. The year that followed this remarkable apocalypse was one of great ministerial activity by the prophet. Its record may be seen in chapters XII.–XIX. From these rugged and powerful representations and appeals may be selected one concerning Zedekiah, foretelling, as Jeremiah had done (Jer. XXXIV. 4, 5), that he should die in the midst of Babylon (Ezek. XVII. 16); and yet more plainly—three years before the event—occurred the prophecy—

> I will bring him to Babylon
> To the land of the Chaldeans;
> Yet shall he not see it,
> Though he shall die there.
> (Ezek. XII. 13.)

His death there, after having had his eyes put out by Nebuchadrezzar at Riblah, is well known (Jer. LII. 10, 11).

The record of Ezekiel's ministry for the next two years opens with an account of the assembling, for the second time (Ezek. XIV. 1), of certain of the Elders of Israel, who sat before him (Ezek. XX. 1). A year before the Elders of Judah had similarly come to inquire of the Lord (Ezek. VIII. 1). These visits were formal and official interviews by responsible men, and show the estimation in which the prophet was held by both sections of the deported tribes. After recounting, as directed, the events of their ancestral history in a beautiful summary, the prophet sarcastically advised them, "Go ye, serve every one his idols" (Ezek. XX. 39). He knew that he was speaking to those by whom any other counsel would be disregarded. This

was, also, the only answer possible to him, as he was forbidden to speak in the Name of Jehovah.

Stung by the prophet's taunts, the deputation withdrew, saying, "Is he not a speaker of parables?" (Ezek. xx. 49).

Soon after this, owing to the refusal of Zedekiah in Jerusalem to contribute the amount assessed upon him,* the avenging army marched towards Jerusalem. Rabbath, the capital city beyond the Jordan, in league with Jerusalem, likewise refused its quota. The prophet, in chapter xxi., gives a graphic description of a scene which must have occurred on the great Syrian highway, south of Damascus. It is one which is in complete harmony with all that late years have told us as to the part that divination played in Chaldean politics and history.

Nebuchadrezzar is represented as standing at the parting of the ways, one of which led to Rabbath-Ammon and one to Jerusalem. He shook the arrows to and fro. He consulted the figures of the teraphim gods. He looked in the liver of the sacrificial animals. It was the will of Jehovah that Jerusalem should be indicated (Ezek. xxi. 24), and the army march on it. Zedekiah is described as already "a deadly wounded wicked one," whose day had come in which to remove the mitre and to take off the crown. But though Jerusalem was to be the first to fall, the turn of Ammon would follow, and

* The cruel severity of this impost may be inferred from the fact that, in refusing it, Zedekiah had before him the example of his brother Jehoiakim, whose similar refusal had led to his arrest and death. Comp. *Solomon's Temple*, pp. 195, 203.

it should be so destroyed as to be no more remembered.

During the march of the army the great prophecy of Oholah and Oholibah was written in Babylonia (Ezek. xxiii.). In it Samaria and Jerusalem, as the religious capitals of the two kingdoms, have a common fate meted out to them. Samaria had already fallen, and her sister city was to be involved in a similar ruin. What is noticeable in this verdict is that the later idolatries of both countries are traced to Assyria, as the earlier ones had been copied from Egypt (Ezek. xx. 8; xxiii. 3). The cup of Samaria, which city had fallen a century before, was to be given to Jerusalem, and it should contain more than was possible to endure.

With this lamentable utterance the prophet's public attempts to save his people ceased. On the tenth day of the tenth month of the ninth year of Zedekiah's reign the Chaldean army, for the fourth time, sat down in a close investment of Jerusalem.

On this day the distant prophet uttered his final parable as to the fate of the city which all loved. It was set forth in the similitude of a cauldron set upon a great fire.* In it all the choice pieces of

* The imagery of this parable is taken from an earlier chapter in which the Princes of Judah in Jerusalem said, "This city is the cauldron and we be the flesh" (Ezek. xi. 3–11). They acknowledged that the coming siege would be hot, but found hope in the fact that the strong city walls would protect them, as a pot would the flesh from the fire. With a certain grimness of humour, Ezekiel tells them that the only flesh left in the pot will be the dead bodies lying in the streets, and that the living will be pulled out and judged in the far-away border of the land. This came to pass at Riblah.

the sacrificial meats were placed, and were spoiled in the soddening, by the rust of the cauldron. The empty cauldron was then placed over the flames, "yet did not her rust go forth from her." In this way was the fierce trial set forth of the siege of Jerusalem begun that day. It was indeed an iron furnace and burning flame that was to consume, but not to purify her.

One more solemn sign was given. It was one personal to the prophet. His wife was suddenly to die, and he was forbidden to show any sign of mourning or grief. He was not to lay aside his turban or his shoes. He was not to eat the bread usually given to mourners, and not to cover his face in token of grief. He might sigh, but not aloud, and was to thus act as a sign to the people that they too, from excess of grief, would soon do as he was doing.

"At even my wife died, and I did in the morning as I was commanded" (Ezek. xxiv. 15–27). From this time until a messenger brought to Ezekiel the news of the city's fall, a year and a half later, the prophet was "dumb." He opened not his mouth to his fellow-captives (Ezek. xxiv. 25–7; xxxiii. 22).

It was during this period of enforced silence that Ezekiel wrote that series of magnificent prophecies against, and lamentations for Tyre and Sidon, which are contained in chapters xxvi.–xxix. These are carefully dated, and show that the last five verses are a postscript written sixteen years after the earlier script, and were inserted there, as completing the series of utterances regarding

Tyre and Egypt. This likewise is the last date in Ezekiel's life, and this editing shows that he survived his captivity for at least twenty-seven years. Minor poems against Ammon, Moab, Edom, and Philistia also belong to this silent period of his life (Ezek. xxv.).

From Egyptian records it is known that Nebuchadrezzar's siege of Jerusalem was interrupted by an army from Egypt, marching to its relief. This we also learn from the autobiography of Jeremiah, who was arrested when about to proceed to Anathoth, during the raising of the siege (Jer. xxxvii. 11–15). But it is from the writings of Ezekiel that we learn how important was the struggle between the two great world powers, though even he does not give the name of the battle in which Egypt was completely worsted. Chapters xxix.–xxxii. refer to this war, and contain evidence that Egypt was completely overrun by the Assyrian and Babylonian armies, all her great cities being named in chapter xxx. 13–19—some of them as contributing captives to Babylon. See also the prophecy of Jer. xlvi. 13–28.

After the conquest of Egypt the army returned to the siege of Jerusalem. From the first investment to the final capture was a period of eighteen months—less one day.* With great particularity the dates upon which this conclusion is founded are given in Kings and in Jeremiah, and agree in

* Four months of the eighteen having been spent in the invasion and conquest of Egypt. Cf. footnote to p. 11. The dates given in Ezek. xxix. 1, xxxi. 1 are between four and five months apart.

every item—the fall of the city occurring in the eleventh year of Zedekiah's reign—the ninth day of the fourth month.

The fact that Ezekiel did not hear of it till the twelfth year, on the fifth day of the tenth month (Ezek. xxxiii. 21), is one that merits a moment's consideration, as it is against the probabilities of the case that a whole year should have passed in such an important piece of news reaching the Chebar of Babylon. The journey is one that could be performed by a footman in two to three months,* and as ill news ever travels apace, it is highly probable that there is some harmonizing explanation of this chronological difficulty—which explanation is to be sought in the text itself.

A part of the explanation will be found in the Hebrew method of computing the regnal years of the Jewish monarchs. The custom of their historiographers was to call that portion of a sovereign's reign which passed before the ensuing New Year's Day, "the beginning" of his reign, and to date the years of the reign from the new moon which coincided with the autumn equinox and the feast of Tabernacles.† Ezekiel dates his earlier prophecies by the year of Zedekiah's reign, as may be seen by a comparison of Ezekiel xxiv. 1 with 2 Kings xxv. 1 and Jeremiah xxxix.

* Ezra and his companions were four months in returning from Babylon to Jerusalem (Ezra vii. 9). But such a caravan would travel slowly, and there were delays, as at Ahava, which Sir Henry Rawlinson identifies as the modern Hit, on the west bank of the Euphrates (Ezra viii. 15).

† The 21st September coincided approximately with the first day of the Civil year (*Solomon's Temple*, chap. i., "Note on the Months of the Babylonian and Jewish Year," p. 69).

I, LII. 4, these four passages identically giving the day of the close investment of Jerusalem. In two or three cases he departs from this rule, and tells us that he dates his utterance from the day of his own birth, or from the official date of the Great Captivity (Ezek. XXXIII. 21 ; XL. 1 ; XXIX. 17). It will be remembered that an unnamed regency and the short reign of Jehoiachin intervened between the death of Jehoiakim and the appointment of Zedekiah. The first of these exceptions—already referred to—is the date of his own call to the prophetic office (Ezek. I. 2). The second of them is the date on which he heard of the fall of Jerusalem (Ezek. XXXIII. 21). This he tells us came to him " in the twelfth year *of our captivity*," on the fifth day of the tenth month. The exact period of the difference between the two dates given as that of the fall of the city (2 Kings XXV. 2, 3) and its news reaching Ezekiel is one year, five lunar months, and twenty-four days. An estimate of how it was made up may be thus stated :—

Nebuchadrezzar's reigning Noble exercised his office about . .	1 year
Jehoiachin's usurpation of power lasted	$3\frac{1}{3}$ months
Ezekiel's messenger travelled during, say	$2\frac{1}{2}$ „

Five hundred and ninety-seven B.C. has been given as the date of the Great Captivity, of which Ezekiel was one of the victims. Eleven years and the fraction of a year bring us to " the twelfth year

of our captivity," and give us B.C. 586, which was the year of the fall of the city, that taking place early in the eleventh year of Zedekiah's reign, namely, on the ninth day of the fourth lunar month.

This chronological stile being surmounted, with the gain of a year for an interregnum,* we are at liberty to see what effect the tidings had upon the prophet's ministry. He "was no more dumb" (Ezek. XXIII. 22). His ministry reopened. It was resumed as a ministry of mingled reproof and hope. To the former class of utterances belongs the condemnation of the Priests and Levites in the scathing parable of the shepherds of Israel who did not feed the sheep, but ate the fat, shore the sheep, and killed the fatlings (Ezek. XXXIV.). To the latter belongs the vision of the valley of dry bones, with its promise of restoration to the Promised Land, when as a single nation Ephraim should not envy Judah, nor Judah vex Ephraim (Ezek. XXXVII.). This whole series of prophecies closes with the thirty-ninth chapter, and finds its ultimate fulfilment in the existence of the Christian Church, the true Israel, when "David my servant shall be their Prince for ever" (XXXVII. 25).

The first portion of the Book of Ezekiel now closes, and ends historically with the fall of Jerusalem and the burning of the Temple in the

* This year of interregnum between Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin does not find a place in my Tabular View of the Hebrew Kings, given in Table I of the volume on *Solomon's Temple*, as its necessity was not then shown. Its absence there, however, is accountable for the fact that the accession of Hezekiah is there placed in 726 instead of in 727, when it occurred. This is stated in the final column of that table, as an unexplained discrepancy.

year B.C. 586. Twenty years earlier the surrender, by Jehoiakim and his councillors, of the band of royal and noble youths of Jerusalem into the hand of Prince Nebuchadrezzar had begun the captivity of the seventy years. It was in ignorance of all this as being Jehovah's disciplinary action, and from a total unwillingness to recognize unwelcome facts, during these twenty years, that the obduracy of the people sprang. They clung to their ancestral dignities and to their idolatrous practices, and failed to see that, religiously, they were an abandoned and reprobate people (Jer. VI. 30), and that the blows which successively fell upon them were punitive and reformatory. In vain did Jeremiah and Habakkuk * at one end, and Daniel and Ezekiel at the other, strive to enforce, by words and deeds, these elementary political truths. They were unpalatable to the nation's taste, and considered to be derogatory to the national honour, and in Jerusalem the feeling and unbelief were such as to call for yet further and severer disciplinary action, until the nation was ruined and its organization destroyed. The throne of David was overturned and "the holy and beautiful House" burned with fire.

In Babylonia we are able to trace a gradual softening of heart and the awakening of conscience among the exiles. No fierce personal hostility,

* Habakkuk prophesied against the Chaldeans (I. 6), and the vision of chapter II., with its five-fold "Woe," is directed against Nebuchadrezzar. That he wrote before the fall of the Temple is shown by his citation, from Psalm XI., of the line "The Lord is in His Holy Temple," as well as by the traces of musical setting in the Prayer of chapter III.

such as that which pursued Jeremiah, was experienced by Ezekiel, who was honoured by the best men of both sections of the captivity who repeatedly came to him for counsel.

When he grew sarcastic, and advised them to serve every man his idol, they said—half humorously—"Isn't he a pleasant fellow? And what parables he tells us!" (Ezek. XXXIII. 32; XX. 49).

Soon the 832 countrymen carried away during the siege of the Temple, being the feeble remnant of the middle and lower classes of a small nation, arrived at the Hebrew settlements on the Chebar (Jer. LII. 29).

These were located as settlers, not prisoners, probably at Tel-abîb.* Ezekiel had once visited it to tell its residents of his call to the prophetic office and ministry (Ezek. III. 15). It would thus be the head-quarters of the Hebrew colonists.† The sight and speech of the newcomers from Jerusalem, as they told of the miseries of the siege, of the looting and burning of the country districts, and of the hardships of the journey across the desert, must have done much to recall and enforce the words of the prophet who, for six years, had repeatedly foretold these things.

* Dr. Hilprecht suggests that the site of the ancient Nippur—Calneh of Gen. X. 10—is that of Tel Abîb, which name he alters to Til-abûb. A great number of Hebrew pottery bowls have been found at *Niffer*, which stands on the site of Nippur.

† Josephus names Naarda, now *Nehardea*, and Nisibis, now *Nisibin*, as the chief dwelling-places of the Babylonian and Mesopotamian Jews (*Antiq.* XVIII. 9, § 1). Both these places are in the Euphrates Valley, Naarda being not far from Sippara, and Nisibis on an affluent of the Chaboras, i.e. the Khabour. Another refuge of the Jews was Ctesiphon, on the left bank of the Tigris, about 16 miles below Baghdad (*Antiq.* XVIII. 9, § 9).

Such news, given at first hand, from those who were actors in the scenes they described would have an immense effect. It would be as the rains of springtime upon autumn seed sown in a wheat-field. Warnings, appeals, and expostulations which had long lain sterile in the minds and memories of "them of the Captivity," would burst their surroundings and leap into life. Of the conferences, of the fasts, of the contrition that followed, history is silent. The result alone is known. The nation in exile was awakened to profound penitence for its past and deep solicitude of heart for the future.

The message of Jeremiah, contained in his letter of chapter XXIX., would be re-read, and its statements compared with the events of the last few years. The living witness of the same things stood among them in the person of Ezekiel. The evidence that these prophets spake truth, even in their sternest moments, was before them in hundreds of ragged and homeless wanderers, who, with tears in their eyes and grief in their hearts, surrendered themselves to the compassion of their compatriots.

The idolatry, persisted in for so many centuries, which had brought such irretrievable misery upon the People of God, was at once and for ever abandoned. The nation returned, in outward and corporate form, to its allegiance to Jehovah. Synagogues were built, the law studied, and the prophets revered.

How deep was the reformation we are unable to say. The events which followed show that it

was not in every case, or in general, a heartfelt return to the spirituality demanded by the prophets and accepted of Jehovah. There was much of formalism and more of ritual, as there is in every such revival. The unacquired thing, nearly always and everywhere, is the "worship in spirit and in truth" demanded of the woman of Samaria. Though this may have been lacking, much was gained. Burnt into the souls of the whole community was a hatred of idols and idol-worship, a hatred which it never again lost. THIS was achieved; and of this accomplishment Ezekiel was at once the mouthpiece and the herald.

CHAPTER II

LATER YEARS OF EZEKIEL'S LIFE AND MINISTRY

AT the time of the captivity it is unlikely that the sacred books were burnt. The priests of the Temple almost certainly removed them to Babylon. Had they been lost the world would have been immeasurably poorer than it is, in all that makes for knowledge and righteousness.

We must, therefore, conceive of the Babylonian Jews as being the possessors and guardians of the early writings of Moses and the prophets, which manuscripts had a peculiar value in their eyes from the fact that they were the sole material survivors of the nation's moral greatness, and the only permanent memorial of its history.* There is, in addition, evidence to show that the inspired penmen who were then contemporaneous formed a kind of literary guild amongst themselves, and that they were in the habit of sending copies of their productions to one another. In this way we may account for the fact that traces of Ezekiel are to be seen in Jeremiah, and traces of Jeremiah in Ezekiel. An earlier and concrete example of

* "By the exiles in Babylonia special diligence was devoted to the preserving, editing, and multiplying of books; and, consequently, the calling of the Scribes rose to great importance" (*Encyclopædia Biblica*, Article "Israel," § 47).

this brotherly habit may be seen in the classical passage beginning :—

> It shall come to pass in the latter days,
> That the mountain of the LORD'S house
> Shall be established in the top of the mountains,
> And shall be exalted above the hills;
> And all nations shall flow unto it.

The three verses of which these lines form the first are to be found in Isaiah II. 2–4 and in Micah IV. 1–3. As these writers and poets were contemporaries, it is impossible to say to whom to attribute them as the author, though it follows that the work of one of them was immediately known to the other. The argument holds if they were the work of a third and earlier writer.

A still more striking example of the way in which the utterances of men then living were known to kindred spirits at a distance is to be found in the fact that "Daniel understood by the books the number of the years whereof the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah the prophet, for the accomplishing of the desolations of Jerusalem—even seventy years" (Dan. IX. 2). We have the prophecy to which Daniel refers, and it now forms part of our Book of Jeremiah (XXV. 11, 12). The context shows that the period of seventy years was fixed during the first year of the reign of Nebuchadrezzar, and that it was not a mere political forecast. Also that Daniel in his chronological reckoning went back to the time of his own removal from Jerusalem. That this took place *before* the accession of Nebuchadrezzar an undesigned statement of the time

shows. The Hebrew youths taken to Babylon, of whom Daniel was one, were committed for THREE years to be nourished and trained (Dan. I. 5). When, at the end of this time, they stood before the King, it was in the "second year of the reign of Nebuchadrezzar." * They had, therefore, been in captivity for between three and four years, and it was to the beginning of this period that Daniel naturally went back in counting the seventy years of the prophecy. The Temple had stood for twenty years of this time, and Jeremiah survived its destruction. We see, therefore, that a statesman in the Palace at Babylon, within fifty years of Jeremiah's death, had a copy of Jeremiah's prophecies before him, and that he received them as being a portion of the infallible Word of God.

We cannot doubt that if he had these prophecies he had also those other scriptures which his countrymen deemed to be of supreme value, and which he calls "the books." It was upon the general and specific promises contained in these rolls and books that Daniel dared those mighty intercessions which ended the captivity. Had he not prayed, the Restoration might have been delayed for twenty years, and the captivity been dated from the destruction of the Temple.

That the name and lofty character of Daniel—then a young man of royal blood—were known to Ezekiel we see by the mention of his name in Ezekiel XIV. 14, 20.

* As an aid to memory it may be noted that Sennacherib came to the throne of Assyria 704 B.C., and Nebuchadrezzar to the throne of Babylon a hundred years later, in 604 B.C.

Together with the books of the law and many other genealogies and treatises which were afterwards worked up into our post-exilic literature,* there is a strong probability of the Temple plans † having been taken to Babylon. Such an elaborate building as the first Temple could not have been built without plan. Its "patterns," we are told, were given to Solomon by his father (1 Chron. xxviii. 11, 12), and must thus have been drawn upon parchment or sheepskin rolls, so as to render them portable. On the burning of the Temple the preservation of these rolls would be one of the first matters claiming attention, after the sacred books had been removed from the archive chamber-room.‡ Together with these they would be taken to Babylon, and be in the care of the High Priest Jehozadak (1 Chron. vi. 15), and his successor in office. This was Joshua (Hag. i. 1), under whom the first return was made.

* On this subject see further, *Solomon's Temple*, 2nd edit., pp. 3–6, where is given a list of the lost ancient MSS. mentioned in the O.T.

† Professor Sayce writes, "That David should have left 'plans' of the future Temple buildings may seem too modern an idea to many readers, but it is borne out by archæological facts. Such plans were made in Egypt and Babylonia centuries before the days of David, and some of them have survived to modern times. The profession of the architect is immensely old in the civilized East" (*The Tabernacle*, p. vi.).

‡ A great body of manuscript must have been taken to Babylon and brought back from there, as is shown by the work of the Chronicler. The first nine chapters of 1 Chronicles are largely a condensation of early registers, mingled with continuations of the time of the Restoration. Other material than that of the Hexateuch was used in the *précis* of these nine chapters. We cannot suppose that the literary materials on which the whole of Chronicles was based remained in Judea during the fifty years which followed the burning of the Temple. They were, therefore, in Babylon.

It was, therefore, during the lifetime of Jehozadak, rather than that of Joshua, that the original plans of the Davidic Temple were in the hands of the prophet Ezekiel. During the four centuries in which the Temple had stood it had been found—as with all things human—that the edifice had been outgrown and was not perfectly adapted to the later uses for which it was built. Its accommodation for the priests and Levites on duty was insufficient, and the lessons of experience showed that other changes might be made with advantage. These changes were committed to Ezekiel to plan—his writings showing that he had a technical knowledge of the builder's profession.

Those were days in which a knowledge of the liberal arts was confined almost solely to kings and priests, and work in them was thought to ennoble and not to degrade.

During the twelve or thirteen years of captivity which followed the fall of Jerusalem we may think of Ezekiel as not only the head of the party of reform and regeneration outside the Palace of Babylon, but as also elaborately preparing for the return, of which Isaiah and Jeremiah and all the later prophets had spoken.

Animated by an inextinguishable hope, based on the prophetic word, he prepared amongst other things a set of Temple plans, which, while following in the main those of the Temple of Solomon, removed some inconveniences, and made a more economical use of the site than had before been done.

The anniversary of the day on which the city

was smitten was kept throughout the whole period of the exile as a day of fasting and mourning (Zech. VII. 4, 5). It was one of the four annual fasts * instituted by the Jews during those years, by a recapitulation of which we may see what were those calamities which they deemed to be of supereminent importance (Zech. VIII. 19). The fast of the *tenth* month was held in memory of the day when the siege of Jerusalem began (2 Kings XXV. 1). The fast of the *fourth* month celebrated the day when a breach was made in the city wall, giving admission to the Chaldean army (Jer. XXXIX. 2). The fast of the *fifth* month celebrated the burning of the House of the Lord, and of the whole city (2 Kings XXV. 8, 9).† The fast of the *seventh* month recalled the murder of Gedaliah,‡ the Chaldean Governor of the land (Jer. XLI. 1).

* It is to these fasts that the second or Babylonian Isaiah refers in the words :—

> Behold, in the day of your fast ye find pleasure,
> And exact all your labours ;
> Behold, ye fast for strife and contention,
> And to smite with the fist of wickedness. (Isa. LVIII. 3, 4 ff.)

† This event naturally made a great impression upon Jeremiah, who witnessed it. The historical narrative of those days occurs in that section of the Book of Kings (2 XXIV. 18–XXV. 21) which was appended to the writings of Jeremiah by some unknown redactor (Jer. LII. 1–27). The true order of composition is shown by the citation, from verse 58, in verse 64 of Jeremiah LI. that his last written words were, "and they shall be weary."

‡ Gedaliah belonged to a distinguished priestly family which had always been known for its moderation and piety. His grandfather Shaphan had brought the newly-discovered book of the law to Josiah (2 Kings XXII. 9). His father Ahikam had saved Jeremiah's life when arraigned before the princes of Judah for prophesying the downfall of the Temple (Jer. XXVI. 24). The family was divided in politics. Jaazaniah, the son of Shaphan, and therefore uncle of Gedaliah, was one of the seventy elders of Israel, whom Ezekiel saw in vision burning incense to Baal in the Holy Chamber of the Temple (Ezek. VIII. 11).

Ezekiel, as a patriot, took part in these fasts. On the fourteenth anniversary of the opening of the siege—the occasion is fixed by its being "the tenth day of the month" (Ezek. XL. 1; 2 Kings XXV. 1)—as he fasted, he fell into a prophetic trance, and saw visions of God. He saw himself standing upon Mount Olivet. Confronting him * was the frame of an 'Ir, or walled enclosure, such as had been about the Solomonic Temple. This was a general view of the subject which he was now to describe more in detail. In the great eastern gate of the 'Ir stood a man whose appearance was that of burnished brass. In one hand he held a measuring reed of six great cubits, and in the other a ball of flaxen twine, marked in medium cubit lengths.†

In imagination Ezekiel joined this heavenly visitant at the Temple gate where he had first seen him, and received from him the instruction that he was to accompany him on a tour of the building before them, and was to declare all that he saw and heard to the House of Israel.

In this way was the divine sanction to be given to the already-made plans of a Temple which was to supersede that planned by David and built by Solomon.

* In Ezekiel XL. 2, for *Negeb*=on the south, Professor A. B. Davidson proposed to read, as the Septuagint translation requires, *Negod*=fronting me. I adopt this reading here.

† The late Professor A. B. Davidson in the *Ezekiel* volume of the Cambridge Bible, rightly says, "The large cubit was probably about 18 inches, and the reed one of 9 ft. in length." But his whole subsequent interpretation of the vision is vitiated by the mistake of supposing that the line of flax was used for measuring the greater dimensions, and the reed for the smaller ones. The reverse was the case. (Davidson's notes on *Ezekiel* XL. 3–5.)

The Tabernacle had been built after the pattern shown to Moses in the Mount, and the ideas embodied in the first Temple David is said to have received by the, or in his, spirit (1 Chron. xxviii. 12). These buildings bore great historic names as their designers and authors, and if Ezekiel's drawings were to be used in the rebuilding, they, too, must receive the divine sanction and approval. It is for this reason that the vision of the angelic witness and measurer was given to Ezekiel, and by him communicated to the House of Israel.

The plans themselves were already in being, and reference to them is presupposed in the chapters which describe what the angel saw, and that which he measured.

The object of the vision, politically, was to authenticate and stamp with the divine approval proposals for a building the details of which had already passed through the mind of man. The well-ordered picture of Ezekiel, chapters xl.–xliv. 5, is one that is too elaborate to be the result of a moment of ecstasy. It is the product of careful study and long composition, and is based upon the design of an earlier structure, well known to the prophet. In one particular the two plans were identical. That is, the area upon which the building stood. In each case this was a parallelogram, consisting of two squares of 150 feet each, lying north and south of one another, and divided by a wall.* This

* For the earlier building see the volume on *Solomon's Temple*.

was the "frame of an 'Ir" * which Ezekiel saw as he stood on Mount Olivet. Here Solomon's Temple had stood, the enclosing wall not being built upon the most sacred soil, but immediately around it. Here the Temple, the glory of which was to exceed that of the former house, was also to stand. Instead, however, of giving merely those particulars in which the new house differed from the old, the celestial visitant took the prophet over the whole set of buildings in a series of progresses, and disappeared only when, every measure being taken, the glory of the Lord, in a blaze of light, filled the House, and the prophet fell upon his face in a rapture of adoration. This climax is reached in chapter XLIV., end of verse 4.

Ezekiel's first progress is described in his fortieth chapter, at the fifth and following verses, and recounts the first walk which the prophet saw himself take in company with the man whose appearance was like that of burnished brass. Let us endeavour, in thought, to accompany these two strange visitants to an as yet unbuilt temple, the actual existence of which was as unsubstantial as were the visitors themselves.

Specifications, such as we have in the text of Ezekiel, without corresponding plans are always

* The same word "'Ir," meaning an enclosed or walled space, is used of the temple of Baal in Samaria, and in both the English versions is translated "The *city* of the house of Baal." Enclosure is meant (2 Kings X. 25). The word 'Ir is used in the Masoretic text of 2 Kings XX. 4 to describe the walled enclosure of Solomon's Temple at Jerusalem.

difficult of understanding. When, in addition to this initial source of obscurity, we add those of ancient and archaic forms of expression, the whole written in a language of so few roots as Hebrew, we have an accumulation of sources of possible error, which makes the decipherment and modernization of Ezekiel's fortieth and following chapters a task of especial and almost unparalleled difficulty and perplexity. The contents of these chapters have, however, in Part II been looked at from a purely architectural point of view, and with the aid of some previous study of Solomon's and Herod's Temples.

The law of artistic evolution, by which Solomon's Temple grew into Ezekiel's, and this again into Herod's, has been of the utmost use in its application to the problem before us. Not that any items have been bodily transferred, from either one Temple or the other, to the projection of Ezekiel's plan ; but that a clue has sometimes been discovered as to the meaning of a phrase or technical word, which, being followed up, has led to graphological results of importance, and to the solution of otherwise unconquerable linguistic difficulties.

It would appear that a necessary course to be taken, previous to any adequate structural exegesis of these chapters of Ezekiel, is to mark the prophet's footsteps, as he passed from point to point, when making his visionary specification of actual drawings before him, or those of which his memory was full. We are fortunately thus able, from given indications, to accompany the

architect in the light of his own directions—the plan herewith furnished being before us. Particulars of these imaginary perambulations are contained in the chapters of Part II of this volume, p. 303 ff., and are arranged in architectural order in its first Appendix.

The preparation of these plans and specifications by Ezekiel, with their accompanying regulations, is a work which must have demanded extraordinary tension of mind and continuous application for a considerable period before the date of the vision itself. The outcome of these years of thought and labour is—for us—contained in the last nine chapters of Ezekiel's prophecy—XL. to XLVIII. By the fourteenth anniversary of the city's fall the plans were complete * (Ezek. XL. 1). Two years later a postscript was added to the prophecy against Tyre (Ezek. XXIX. 17). Sixteen years were, therefore, spent in the elaboration of the several parts of his Book, and, in the finished production, we have the permanent result of the later years of Ezekiel's life and ministry.

The preparation of Ezekiel's Temple plans was, in a word, the answer of faith to Nebuchadrezzar's order for the burning of Solomon's Temple, while the sight and possession of them fed the faith of the exiles as to the certainty of coming restoration to Zion.

* The date of Ezekiel's vision was 572 B.C., being the thirty-third year of Nebuchadrezzar's reign. It was thirty-six years after this that the second Temple was begun, during which years the prophet's writings may have become well known throughout Babylonia.

CHAPTER III

AN IMAGINARY VISIT TO THE COMPLETED TEMPLE AND ALTAR

Based on the scientific data of Part II and of Appendix I. The reader is advised to read this chapter with the large plan before him.

LET us imagine ourselves standing with Ezekiel on the summit of the Mount of Olives, and with him making a prospective visit to that improved Temple—afterwards built—the plans of which he had so long laboured at. Before us stands a low and massive enclosure wall, which was everywhere fifteen feet in height and nine feet in thickness.* This stone wall was unbroken on the eastern side, except for a magnificent external porch, which masked the gate of entrance. Approaching this gateway, from across the valley of the Kidron, we ascend a broad flight of four steps to an easy landing which ran on three sides of a huge paved parallelogram. Above this are other four steps. Surmounting these, we find ourselves on the six-feet level, on which stand all the main buildings before us. Entering the shelter of the outside great portico,

* The vertical measurement of the wall given in Ezek. XL. 5 as one reed, was taken from the interior level of the altar platform, which was six feet above the level of the *chel* or hill. It was therefore on the outer face, six feet *plus* a reed of nine feet, or fifteen feet high on each of its four sides. Comp. *note* p. 303.

a noble structure, we find it occupied by a small body of seven judges—composed of priests and Levites. These form the ceremonial court of the Jewish Judicial System, and no Jew or Jewess could enter the sacred enclosure within the walls except by its permission. The members sat in the "Seat of Moses" in the open air, and freely dispensed technical advice from the *Tôrah* in all cases of doubt as to personal purity in which a would-be worshipper might find himself. The court sat, in relays of members, during all the hours in which the Temple was open.

After hearing some of the questions put by inquirers, and their answers, we enter the portals. Of these there were three. A great two-leaved gate was flanked on each of its sides by a small wicket. We choose that on the northern side as the one for our entrance, and as we do so are told that the central gate is opened only on Sabbath days and festival occasions—otherwise it is uniformly closed.

Entering the 'Ir with these explanations in our ears, we notice at our right hand a set of steps, which also lead up to the platform whereon we stand, from the general level of the court below, and in particular from the north or sacrificial gate. Counting them, we find that they are the ten steps of the Septuagint version of Ezekiel XL. 49 * by which sacrificing worshippers went

* The height of the ground-platform and of the Temple porch being *five* cubits; that of the two holy chambers was *six* cubits. This necessitated the use of two half-cubit steps—as in the first Temple—in the partition between the porch and the outer exhedra. These two are the steps referred to in the Masoretic text of Ezekiel, "Whereby

up to the altar. The inference is made that as the eight steps which we had ascended in the approach to the east gate had a rise of 9 inches, and these ten had a rise of $7\frac{1}{5}$ inches,* the ground-levels within and without the walls of the inner court were the same. With this coincidence in mind, we pass on to note the extreme cleanliness of the interior, and the superlative care taken in order to prevent the least unseemliness of conduct on the part of any one who had obtained admission. Children were there of the age of three and upwards (2 Chron. xxxi. 16), but all wore a grave and solemnized look. Indeed, a holy awe seemed to sit on the countenance of every shoeless and turbaned worshipper. We were now standing amid the throng of those who had come to keep holy-day in the House of the Lord. Around us were the twelve sentry boxes, in which the Levitical police stood, six at either gate. Their occupants seemed, however, to have nothing to do in the way of keeping order, but took part in singing the psalms which were chanted at the offering of every burnt sacrifice, which singing was not intermitted till the whole carcase had been consumed in the altar fires—

they went up to it," i.e. the Temple. The ten steps mentioned in the margin of the Revised Version of the same passage (Ezek. xl. 49), which, in the Septuagint, take the place of the "two," are those in more general use by the Temple worshippers, leading up, as they did, from the sacrificial floor to the base of the great altar. Both sets of steps were parts of the elevation of twelve steps by which the priests went up, from the sacrificial area, to the inner chambers of the House of the Lord.

* These two measures are the halves of those cubits of construction which were used in their contiguous surroundings. The "rise" of half a cubit a step is taken from the *Mishna*. Comp. *note* p. 376.

priests the while continually blowing their silver trumpets from the steps of the Temple.

We now approach the altar, which is the more immediate object of our visit, so as to carry away some definite idea as to the size and appearance of this central site of Jewish worship.* It is explained to us, by our attendant, that, while every Jew worshipped *toward* the Temple in which Jehovah had His name and dwelling-place, yet the shrine AROUND which he worshipped was that whereon the blood of his sacrifice was sprinkled, and upon which the body of his burnt-offering was consumed.

We are further told that it was considered imperative that the worshipper should *touch the altar* while the blood was being poured out and his prayer made, thus identifying himself, as far as possible, with the vicarious and propitiatory sacrifice then being made. In this way the touch of the altar was intended to remove guilt and convey sanctity.† Malachi refers to this general custom, then one of insincerity, in the words—

> "Ye cover the altar of the Lord
> With tears, with weeping and with sighing;
> Insomuch that He regardeth not the offering any more,
> Neither receiveth it with good will at your hand."
> (Mal. II. 13.)

* For other particulars of this Altar see pp. 164, 323–5, and items 21–34 in Appendix I. For its assigned position with regard to the Temple, compare *The Tabernacle*, pp. 74, 178–83.

† Robertson Smith justly remarks, "Exodus XX. 26 is addressed not to the priests but to Israel at large, and implies that any Israelite may approach the altar. Comp. Exodus XXI. 14" (*The Old Testament*, p 435). The principle of Jewish worship here involved has already been enunciated in *The Tabernacle*, 2nd edit., 1906, p. 180.

The Sakhrah Rock

Standing beside the altar we were further informed that beneath our feet was that portion of the rocky ridge of Moriah on which David had sacrificed; that an Epiphany of Jehovah having taken place there, the exact spot had never been lost sight of,* its sanctity being derived from words textually applicable to every such altar site, "In every place where I cause My Name to be remembered, I will come unto thee and I will bless thee" (Exod. xx. 24).

The rock itself was described as having a rough and uneven upper surface, and as being chiselled away on the western side and otherwise sloping down toward the east.

It was now, however, levelled up with unchiselled stones and mortar to a uniform height of five cubits or six feet above the surrounding pavement. This, we were told, was the masoned platform which we had mounted before we entered the Temple, and that no retirement from it was allowed—except by its southern side, where was a gradual slope, down which all returning worshippers found their way.

Having understood these things, we were now permitted to verify the fourteen measurements which we had brought with us (Appendix I, items 21 to 34).

What struck our historic memory in viewing the sacred pile of the altar was that it had no

* Josephus says the altar of the second Temple was built on "the same place on which it had formerly been built" (*Antiq.* xi. 4, §1).

brass plates about it, as had its predecessors. All was of stone, save only two interior bronze gratings, through one of which the ashes fell, and through the other of which the flames licked up the sacrifices placed above it.

Proceeding to measure its details, we used a rule of eighteen inches, as we had been certified that the cubit used in its construction had been that of an ordinary cubit with the addition of a handbreadth (Ezek. XLIII. 13).

The first general observation made from these lengths was that the altar had the dimensions of a cube of twenty-one feet. Its height, breadth, and length were of this size—it being understood that the "height" was taken from the level of the courtyard which lay below. An erection of fifteen feet in height stood before us, which we now proceeded to measure minutely. Before doing this, let it be explained that while a rectangular pile of 21 feet square was before us, that distance, on three of its sides, was increased by 18 inches, owing to the fact that a drain of $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet ran on three sides of the built-up altar. This gave a total of 24 feet to its north-by-south line. Such was also the superficial measurement of the Holy of Holies, before which the altar stood, and which it was meant to subserve. It was noticed that these complementary structures were on the same alignment, and that a line passing east and west through the centre of the altar would also be the axis of the two holy chambers, and that their north and south edges were the same.

Marvelling at this symmetry of structure, we then proceeded to measure the various levels and superficies of the altar, which we found to be as in the illustration on page 46.

One thing troubled us. It was that there were on the eastern side of the stone altar many steps built up, in order that by them the priests might go up to place the sacrificial meats in the cavity on its upper surface, to pour portions of the drink-offerings into its horns, and to clear away its ashes. These steps caused us to inquire of him who stood by why they were permitted. He then opened the holy roll which he carried in his arms, and showed us the place where it was written, "Neither shalt thou go up by steps unto mine altar!" and again, "For Aaron's sons thou shalt make them linen breeches: . . . from the loins even to the thighs shall they reach, and they shall be upon them when they come near unto the altar" (Exod. XXVIII. 42). This, said he, is the reason why it was permitted to Ezekiel to give to the altar "steps, which shall look toward the east" (Ezek. XLIII. 17), that by them the *priests* might go up, no impurity being now caused thereby. But to the men of Israel it is not permitted. Therefore do *they* ascend to the level of the altar by the steps which are without the wall. On our understanding these things * we took our departure down the altar

* The original prohibition of Exodus XX. 26, "Neither shalt thou go up My steps unto Mine altar, that thy nakedness be not discovered thereon," involves the use of a raised platform, as the altar itself was originally less than four feet high, or a box $3\frac{3}{8}$ in height and six feet in the square. The rule was taken to mean that the approach to the

slope, in the midst of which ran the conduit for water mingled with blood, which flowed incessantly from beneath the side of the altar.

Having descended the southward slope, we came at once upon a broad ambulatory paved with coloured marble-stone where were many Hebrews. Above them, on either side, the eyes of the Levites looked down upon them from galleries as they passed to and fro with unhasting joy. Some indeed walked with us on their way, and some passed us as we went. Then we asked one who was skilful why this was so. He told us that it was required of old, *at every time*, that those who brought their sacrifices to the north gate should go out by the south, together with those who entered by the east. But that on appointed feast days, only, was it *now* permitted that men should enter by the south gate, which lay near to the city, and that on *these men only*, after they had eaten, was it obligatory that they should go forth by the way of the north gate—every one thus passing by the great altar of sacrifice, beside which each would make his prayer (Ezek. XLVI. 9).

We now saw before us a great gate dividing the two main courts, within which was a small covered porch, and on either side were the sentry

altar, when standing on its earthen base or platform, was to be by a slope. This rule was uniformly observed by both the priests and laity, in Tabernacle times, *when such platform was reached from the area of the court in which the altar stood.* Steps were permitted to the laity, from outside of the court, when later, the ascent to the base was made, and for the priests when the ascent of the altar was from the platform within the 'Ir.

lodges of the six Levites who stood there, and before them were many steps leading to the higher court.

As, from the midst of this dividing gate, we gazed upwards at the line of the sky, we saw bowers of green, in which sat many people eating and drinking and making merry. The pillars which were there were many, and each of them was encircled with branches of palm trees and boughs of olive and myrtle-wood. Also they had no roofs, for they were in appearance like unto booths, through which the sun did not shine. And when we asked the meaning of this, we were told that this was the seventh month of the year, when the nation of the Hebrews kept their Tabernacle feast, in memory of the desert through which their fathers had passed. So we joined those who feasted, and saw that no one brought victuals, but that all did eat of the fatness of Jehovah's House. The tables which were there, on them rested the freewill offerings of the people, and the Levites prepared for their brethren flesh sodden in pots and cakes of flour mingled with oil and flagons of wine. So there was very great joy and singing, and this continued until the setting of the sun, for many were coming and going in every hour of the seven days of the feast. We saw also that the men and the women sat apart from one another, and the children with their mothers. Our seats were with the men, who were of all ages, and who, with goodwill and obeisances, received us into their midst. So we did eat with them and drank, conversing to-

gether. They told us of the abundance of water, and the several conduits with which the Temple was supplied. This was required for the many ablutions of the priests, the washing of the sacrifices, and the daily purgation, by water, of the Temple courts. This work of the supply of water they claimed as the work of King Solomon, who, besides creating the three great pools of Etam, constructed the pipes of pierced stones which brought water from beyond Bethlehem, to the level above the Sakhrah stone.

Then asked we them the reason of the short lengths of lattice or trellis work, with lozenge-shaped interstices, which we saw all about us, and had also seen around the Temple itself.

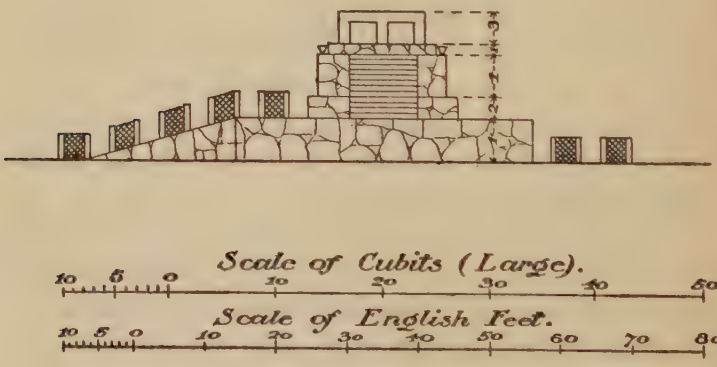
These gates or partitions, said they, are for separation. Those near the Temple are for the use of the priests, who alone may enter in, through the spaces, into the innermost court of the Temple to approach near unto God. None but those who are of the course of priests then on duty, and who are of the age of thirty to fifty years, are permitted to enter the fence or *Soreg* around the House of the Lord. Thus are laymen excluded, and the awful reverence of God attained, which exists in the minds of all the people.

This being made plain to us as to the priestly *Soreg*, we asked as to the other *Soreg*, within which we were. Then did our companions tell us that as its construction was like that of the first *Soreg*, so also was its use. Because, from the days of Moses, there had been many proselytes to the Jewish faith who were not of the seed of

Abraham, therefore was this *Soreg* built, in order that they might offer sacrifice and worship around the altar, and also enter the outer court of the Temple 'Ir. But that it was not permitted to them to eat with the Children of Abraham.* It was in this way that their lives were retained to them, because none such durst pass the barriers around the tables.

Greatly marvelling at the careful wisdom by which the Jewish faith was translated into the stone and wood of the builder's craft, we bade farewell to our hosts, and descending the eight steps of the southern gate and the slope below it, crossed the Causeway and entered the city.

* This ceremonial convention for Jewish proselytes throws light upon many passages of the New Testament, such as those in which surprise is expressed that Jesus should eat with publicans and sinners. It also accounts, in part, for the fact that Peter withdrew from eating with the Gentile converts at Antioch (Gal. II. 11 ff.).



THE ALTAR OF EZEKIEL'S TEMPLE.

CHAPTER IV

THE NEW CONSTITUTION IN CHURCH ORDER

THE plans for a new Temple being completed, and the divine authority having been given for its construction, it became necessary to recast such portions of the ancient ritual legislation as were unsuited to the new condition of things in which Israel was a subject, and no longer a free State.

These amended regulations form the third part of the Book of Ezekiel, which begins with the fifth verse of chapter forty-four.

The vision of the Temple has now been left behind, and the completed plans upon which it was based are precious and preserved things of the past. In dismissing it for a time from our view, it may be of interest to state the opinion of the writer as to how the vision occurred. As Peter became very hungry at the time of the trance at Joppa, so the day on which Ezekiel saw his vision was a day of fasting for the siege and fall of Jerusalem. The unclogged mind was thus, in each case, fitted to receive and transmit impressions with inconceivable velocity. As in dreams the human brain receives in a moment images which may cover many scenes and much

time, so here. "Daniel had a dream, and visions of his head upon his bed" (Dan. VII. 1). As a matter of opinion it would seem that all cases of spiritual and supernatural vision came to those who either were asleep or who seemed to others to be so.

Fourteen years after the fall of Jerusalem Ezekiel had probably just completed his drawing of the plans for a new Temple. His memory would be full of its details and architectural arrangements. To him, therefore, it was of importance that there should come some divine attestation by which alone his people would consent to accept his work in place of that designed by David. This attestation was given, not in the mere fact that his sleeping moments had reproduced the work of his waking hours, but in a voice which came to him from out of the Temple, and which bade him, standing beside the altar, show the plan to the House of Israel, and let them measure the pattern thereof (Ezek. XLIII. 6, 10). He was further to make known to them the form, the fashion, the entrances, and all the ordinances and laws thereof, and to write them in their sight, that they might keep them and do them. Here we have the authority upon which Joshua and Zerubbabel acted when, a few years later, they built the second Temple after Ezekiel's plan. The dream and its application being past, all the ordinances and laws for the House which was to be were given to the prophet in the ordinary way. As a matter of course and consequence the old Mosaic ritual would be ob-

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served in the new Temple.* No abrogation of any of its laws now took place. In these later chapters of Ezekiel's prophecy they are assumed to be valid, and as governing FOR EVER—i.e. during the period of the Theocracy—the relations between Jehovah and His people.† Those regulations which were newly recorded were such as arose out of the altered condition of the chosen people as a subject-power, and fitted the depressed religious and material circumstances in which its own history had placed it. No longer an independent nation, the Hebrew people were to be a Church and a community, and as such to prepare for, and to carry on the gradual purposes of God in preparation for the coming of the Messiah.

The first of Ezekiel's new and additional ordinances, to take effect on the restoration to their own land, referred, logically, to the priesthood which should officiate in the new Temple when built. In the very forefront of these regulations stood the command that no alien, uncircumcised in heart and flesh, was to enter the sanctuary of God. A lurid light is thrown

* Ezekiel everywhere *presupposes* an older law, and the references with which his pages are filled—to "statutes and judgments" (Ezek. v. 6), contrasted with the heathen "ordinances" of the surrounding nations (Ezek. xi. 12)—show explicitly that he had such Jehovistic laws habitually before him. Even Dillmann says, "Ezekiel lives and moves in the precepts of the Law of Holiness."

† "The prophet again and again places his new ordinances in contrast with the actual corrupt usage of the first Temple (Ezek. xliii. 7, xliv. 5 *seq.*, xlv. 8, 9)" (Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament*, p. 374).

upon the past when it is affirmed that such men had been set as keepers of Jehovah's holy things, that they had placed the shewbread within the Temple, sprinkled the blood of the sacrifices, and laid upon the altar the fat of offerings.* The reminder of these things was intended to make a regenerated people "ashamed" of their past iniquities, and to create in them a firm and passionate resolve that the new house should remain undefiled by such abominations.

The next provision is one that dealt with the status of the priesthood in the future—the word "Levites," in chapter XLIV. 10, being used in a tribal, and not in an ecclesiastical sense. Of the priests to return at the restoration it was foreseen that there would be some who had been engaged in idolatrous practices, when Israel went astray. Of these individuals it is decided that, upon amendment, their services were to be restricted to those priestly offices which concerned the laity alone. They might serve the congregation by slaying their sacrifices and in other ministering offices, but they were forbidden to attend upon Jehovah Himself, to enter the Temple chambers, or to touch any of the things termed "most holy" in the Levitical law (Lev. VI. 24–VII. 6).

Certain instructions then followed, which were to apply to the faithful priests who had in spirit kept, during the whole of their lives, the charge

* The employment of such men in the Temple was an inevitable step in that degradation of Jehovism which culminated in the idolatries of Manasseh. Contemporary history is silent upon these points, leaving much to be inferred, or to be gathered, from such reminiscences as we have here (Ezek. XLIV. 6–9).

or rules of the sanctuary. Instructions for these were, for the most part, repetitions of old laws to which a new sanction was now given. They referred to the wearing of linen clothes only, while within the *Soreg* of the inner court,* and to the putting of these off before entering the outer court, a direction which is repeated from chapter XLII. 13, 14. Other rubrics forbade their drinking wine when on duty, referred to the trimming of their hair, to their marriages, and to mourning for the death of relations. Their support was to be derived from certain offerings from the people, first-fruits, and the products of vows. No priest might eat anything which had died a natural death.

All these regulations for the Jewish priesthood may be seen in the original laws of Moses. Their recapitulation here shows what were those particulars in which they were most apt to fail, and does not in any sense constitute a new or complete set of rules for the governance of their lives. They presuppose, and are based upon, an intimate acquaintance with the legislation of the wilderness, which, both from his own and his readers' famili-

* That the area within the line of the priestly *Soreg* is here meant is conveyed in the last words of the injunction, "No wool shall come upon them while they minister in the gates of the inner court, *and within*" (Ezek. XLIV. 17). The alternative reading to "within," being "*in the house*," as in the margin, it follows that the space described as being within "the gates of the Inner Court" is the area immediately about the Temple, which was defined by the posts of the Priestly *Soreg*. The spaces between these posts were alternately closed and open. It is to the latter open spaces that the term "gates" is sometimes applied, as in XL. 18 and 38. Comp. footnotes on pp. 308, 311.

arity, Ezekiel did not so much as specifically name. It was generally known and held to be of unquestioned value and authority.

On the return to Palestine the three annual feasts were to be kept as of old (Ezek. XLV. 17). But they were to be kept with new and additional solemnities. On the day of the slaying of the Passover, and on each of the seven days of the feast of Tabernacles, a sin-offering for the nation was to be made. Hitherto these offerings had been optional, with no fixed period attached to them (Lev. IV.). Now they were to be compulsory. In addition, a half-yearly purification of the Temple was ordered to be made. On the first day of every year, civil and religious, i.e. at every six months, beginning with each New Year's Day, a young and unblemished bullock was to be offered, the blood of which was to be put upon the posts of the gate of entrance to the Temple, on the four corners of the altar, and upon the door-posts of the Temple itself. In this way was it endeavoured to impress, more constantly and more deeply, the moral defilement of the nation, and the need for sanctity on the part of those who worshipped there. The fact of these new sacrifices being termed "sin-offerings" made their expiatory intention known to all the people. That there might be no doubt as to their national character, they were ordered to be provided by the Prince of the Land in his personal and representative characters (XLV. 18–25).

It was also required of him that he should pro-

vide all the other national sacrifices, whether daily, weekly, monthly, or annual, together with their accompaniments of flour and oil. It is noticeable that the quota of wine hitherto required at the Passover offerings (Lev. XXIII. 13) was still expected of the Prince, under the name of "drink-offering."

The daily burnt-offering which had hitherto been offered twice on each day, and is known to us as the morning and the evening sacrifice, was now reduced to a single lamb to be offered every morning. But, on the Prince's behalf, six such were to be offered on every Sabbath day and on every occasion of a new-moon festival.

The great number and variety of these sacrifices to be provided by a subject Prince *—for on the matter of national independence Ezekiel had no illusions—are thus arranged for, as to their supply from the people. Instead of a tithe of all garden and farm produce to be paid every third year (Deut. XXVI. 12)—by the new constitution the payments to the head of the State were to be annual, and on the following scale :—

Of lambs, whether of sheep or goats, 1 in 200.

Of wheat and barley, actually garnered, one-sixtieth part.

Of olive oil, expressed, one-hundredth part.

* The title *Nasi* or *Prince* was first applied to the Chiefs of the Tribes (Exod. XXXIV. 31 ; Lev. IV. 22 ; Num. II. 3). After the captivity it became the title of the Chiefs of Israel, who could not become Kings, owing to the Foreign Suzerainty (Esdras I. 8). By Ezekiel, the tribal distinctions were thus done away in having but a single "Nasi" for the nation. It was presumed that he would not be of the tribe of Levi, but a layman, though the title was afterwards assumed by High Priests.

All the people of the land, whether Hebrews or aliens, were to give these proportions of their farm and harvesting income as oblations to the Prince, in order that he might have that with which to make atonement for them, in the sacrificial system ordained by the hands of Moses, and, so far, amended by Ezekiel.

In the mind of every exile in Babylon lay embedded the conviction that their Temple had been destroyed because of its frequent profanations under the Kings. Hence, through all these rules and regulations for the erection of a new Temple, and for the conduct therein of the old ritual, there runs a new spirit of reverence. No mention is made of any particular high priest. The succession is limited to the Aaronic sons of the family of Zadok (XLIV. 15), but otherwise there is no sign of coming change. To us who know something of what subsequent years brought to the emancipated people in this respect, this should not seem strange, as the whole scheme of the prophet Ezekiel was one based upon actual fact and prospect, illuminated by the many promises of earlier writers, that a "remnant" of the nation was to return to the land of their fathers.

In spite of the teachings of past history, that the High Priesthood was changed, again and again, from one to the other branch of the Aaronic family, Ezekiel does not do other than assume the permanence of the house of Zadok. In this, and other aspects of his forecast, he does what every true legislator does. That is, he erects before the commonalty a lofty ideal of action

and conduct, which is not impossible of attainment if every member of the body politic does his duty, and if there are no defections. Any other counsels than those of possible perfection are plainly impossible in a series of laws which are to have the sanction of an Almighty and perfect Deity. Thus he regards the representative restoration of the " remnant " to the land as being that of the twelve tribes, and not of a part of them only. This spirit of hopefulness runs through the whole series of the writings in this third part of his book. There is one exception. He did not expect the throne of David to be restored to its pristine splendour and strength. Ever since the well-meant but fatal interference of Josiah with the affairs of the great powers of the world, the Jewish State had been declining in independence. It was now completely wrecked, and lay waterlogged on the tide of human history. Ezekiel had insight enough to see that whatever was meant by " the sure mercies of David," it did not mean that a scion of that house was to be at once restored to the plenitude of power on the termination of the period of discipline and captivity. He had announced, during the great siege, that " David My servant shall be king over them ; and they shall all have one shepherd " (Ezek. xxxvii. 24), but this did not, to his mind, mean the restoration of the line of David in a succession of sovereigns who should hold independent commands. The proof of this lies in his constant use of the word *Nasi*, " Prince," and his avoidance of the word *Melek*, " King."

The distinction between the two offices of Prince and King is brought out in the fact that there was to be no royal oratory over the Temple porch as before; and that special injunctions were given as to the place in which the Prince of Judah was to perform his devotions and eat his sacrificial meats. He was to enter by the porch of the great gate to the east—which was, for his use alone, to be opened on ordinary days. Within this gate, as shown on the plan, was a small covered portico. Standing within this, by the jamb-post of the gate, the Nasi was to worship, and then to go forth, the gate being closed after him. On Sabbath days and other festivals, during which the gate stood open all day, no distinction was to be made between the Prince and other worshippers. He was to go in when they went in, to stand amid them, and to go forth when they went forth (XLVI. 1, 2, 10, 11, 12).

How different this from the royal state in which Rehoboam, preceded by shields of brass, and, still more, Solomon, preceded by shields of gold, had gone to the Temple! (1 Kings XIV. 27, 28). This ordered humility of public demeanour was intended to mark publicly the difference in the status of the royal line in God's sight, owing to its past unfaithfulness to its great trust. As Viceroys of Jehovah they were appointed to rule on his behalf and in accordance with the code of laws which He had given them. This they had failed to do, and the visible result was their degradation in the eyes of the world and of their own people.

To such Princes, when they came into existence,

Ezekiel addressed a few words of exhortation—such as, once heard, they were not likely to forget. These cover four versicles only (Ezek. XLV. 9–12). They begin with an appeal to let the moral record of their past history and conduct, as civil governors of God's people, suffice. They were implored to do no more violence and spoil, or to evict owners from their ancestral lands, but to do justice and judgment between man and man, and not to use their power for purposes of self-aggrandizement and wealth.

Further, they were to see that just weights and measures were used throughout the land. So far back as the reigns of Jeroboam the Second and Uzziah, Amos had complained that the rulers of Israel—

> Made the Ephah small, and the Shekel great,
> And falsified the balances by deceit. (Amos VIII. 5.)

To correct these monstrous commercial evils, which continued through the whole later period of the monarchy, Ezekiel declared that the old law was still in force by which the Ephah was to be used for the measurement of dry goods, and the bath to be used for the measurement of liquids, and that they should be of the same capacity, with some detailed fractions of each.*

* These measures and their fractions may be thus summarized:—

The homer or cor contained about			80	gals.
The ephah or bath	„		8	„
The great hin was	$\frac{1}{6}$	of a bath, or about	$1\frac{1}{3}$	„
The sacred hin	„ $\frac{1}{8}$	„ „	1	„
The omer	„ $\frac{1}{10}$	„ „	$\frac{4}{5}$	„
The cab	„ $\frac{1}{18}$	„ „	$\frac{1}{2}$	„
The log	„ $\frac{1}{80}$	„ „	$\frac{1}{10}$	„

The "cor," "homer," "ephah," and "hin" are mentioned by Ezekiel, chaps. XLV. 13, 14, 24; XLVI. 5, 7, 11, 14.

He then went on to deal with the coinage—money then being current by weight, though the Persian daric, the name of which is Assyrian, soon appeared. Taking the shekel as a well-known fundamental of weight for gold and silver, he repeated the declaration of Exodus xxx. 13, that there were to be twenty gerahs in a silver shekel, and that the Temple Tax, to be paid annually by every adult male, was to be half a shekel. Of these shekels sixty (or 20+25+15) were to form a pound or maneh (cf. 1 Kings x. 17, margin). Sixty such manehs formed a talent.

These three departments of civil life which, in all lands and ages, form the bases of any just and permanent administration, were to be under the jurisdiction of the new Temple and its officers, presided over by the Prince. That Ezekiel should have seen that this was so, and should have insisted upon justice between man and man, and purity in the trade and government of the future, shows the practical bent of his mind, and his sincere desire that the judicature and the worship of the new Temple should be accompanied by sincerity of conduct and honesty of purpose in both governors and governed.

Ezekiel's style of writing is everywhere rich and vigorous, and is adapted to its subject-matter. Now it is impetuous and titanic in its delineation of vision, parable, and allegory. Now it is tender and not lacking in poetic grace, as when he describes the spiritual vagaries of Oholah and Oholibamah. His "vision" is a literary form

involving the actuality of the thing aimed at, and the man who became by its use "The father of Apocalypse" is the same who wrote of the mercantile glories of Tyre in the graphic description of chapters XXVII. and XXVIII. When we have said that there are in Ezekiel's writings no pettinesses and no prettinesses, we have said all that a critic may justly say as to its shortcomings and deficiencies. Its massive splendours still remain. These are sometimes thought to be obscure. If they are so, it is from weakness in the beholder's vision, as of the sun, which appears dark through excess of light.

CHAPTER V

THE NEW CONSTITUTION IN STATE

HAVING given the requisite details of the Temple and of its amended ordinances, the prophet completes his forecast of the future reconstituted State by making an ideal representation of the whole land, as it was to be divided between the twelve tribes on their return from captivity. It is needless to say that this division of the land was never attempted, if only for the reason that the majority of the nation elected to remain in Babylon rather than to return to Palestine. However unhistorical such a representation as we have in the closing chapters of Ezekiel's prophecy may be, it is undeniable that Ezekiel did not in his prospective sketch transgress the laws either of geography or common sense. For while the relative positions of the tribes are altered—Judah's position now lying to the north and Benjamin's to the south of the city, thus reversing their former geographical places—no specified width is given to the territory of any one tribe. Seven tribes are placed north of the holy city and its environs, and five tribes south of the same—the four corners of the national occupation being stated, and being practically the same as in the days of Joshua. It is not, however,

with this ideal distribution of the whole land that we are called upon to deal with any particularity in these pages, but solely with that intermediate area of the territorial "oblation" which divided the northern from the southern tribes. To this central area specific figures are given, which enable us to outline, in plan, the ideas to which the prophet gave expression. These ideas are not difficult of reproduction, if the cardinal proposition be accepted that the "measures" used throughout these specifications are not *reeds* of nine feet in length, but *cubits of reeds* of the length of one-sixth of such reeds—as read in the Vulgate and the Septuagint.

The Sacred Territory

The *Chel* or Ramp of the Temple of Ezekiel receives two recognitions in the prophecy. The first of these occurs in chapter XLII. verses 15–20, where, owing to the above error in translation, to each of its four sides is mistakenly given a length of five hundred "reeds." The other occurs in chapter XLV. 2, where to the Holy Place is given a square of five hundred . . ., with an open space about it of "fifty cubits." That in each of these passages these numbers were, as already stated, surveyor's cubits will be apparent if reference be made to the provisional distinction made in chapter XL., verses 3–5, between the building cubits, contained in the ball of flax, and the cubits (each longer than the others by a palm breadth) which were marked on the reed. It is

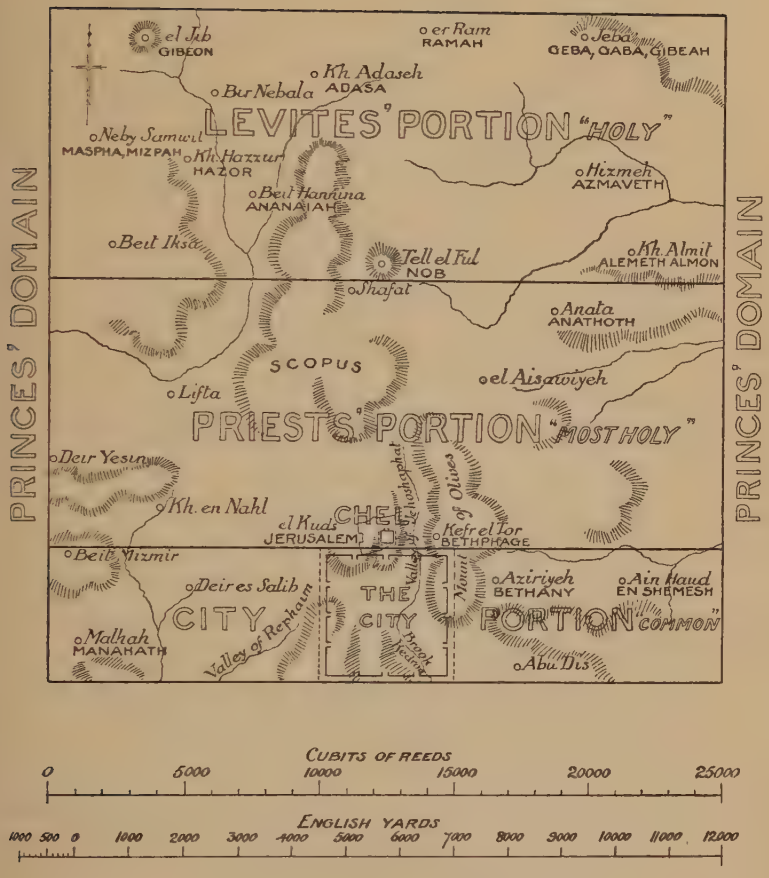
the mistaken textual attempt to specify that these reed-cubits are the cubits intended which has led to the needless italic introduction—into the English Versions—of the word "reeds," in Ezekiel XLV. 1, XLVIII. 8, 9, and to the consequent general misapprehension of the whole specification of this part of the Temple.

Under the sure assumption that the land-measures given are, in every case, those of half a yard in length, we may proceed to the delineation of the "holiness oblation" which lay in the midst of the land, the site of which was to govern the position of all the tribal allotments to its north and to its south (Ezek. XLV. 1–8).

The Accompanying Map

shows the "oblation," or sacred territory, as a square containing almost exactly fifty square miles, British. Each of its four sides had a length of twenty-five thousand cubits—12,500 yards, or $7\frac{1}{10}$ miles. This square area was divided, by two transverse demarcation lines, into three interior spaces, of which two were identical in size, and the third was one-half the size of each of the others. As the exterior and major boundaries contained about fifty square miles, it will be an aid to memory if we allocate twenty of these to the priestly portion, twenty to the Levitical portion, and ten to the city portion.

Here, however, occurs a question which claims consideration. It is, in which direction were the interior boundary lines drawn? It will be obvious



THE SACRED TERRITORY OF EZEKIEL.

To face page 62.

that within a square enclosure these may be drawn either from north to south or from east to west, so as to give the result above mentioned. The determining factor between these rival possibilities will be found in Ezekiel XLVIII. 18. This distinctly states that when the measures of the city walls and suburbs were taken out of the centre of the smallest of the three areas, the residue was ten thousand (cubits) lying to the east, and ten thousand cubits lying to the west. The strip of ground of which the city was the centre square must then have had an alignment, the longer axis of which was from east to west, and not from north to south. This is conclusive evidence as to the interior arrangements of the whole oblation, and shows that the dividing lines were horizontal ones, a decision which is not controverted by any other particular before us.*

I. *The City Portion.*—Topographically it follows that, in intention, a new city was to be built due south of the Haram Area, the circumference of whose walls should be slightly over five miles in length, which is, approximately, the perimeter of the walls as Ezekiel knew them, and as excavations show them to have been. They are to-day about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length.

It is needless to say that this new Jerusalem,

* Canon Driver understands the arrangement to have been as follows: "The Temple, surrounded by the priests' possessions, in the centre; the Levites' land and the city on the north and south of these respectively" (*Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 4th edition, p. 276). This allocation is less precise than that given above, but does not contradict it in any particular.

on a site to the south of the Haram Area, was never attempted to be built, it being with great difficulty that Nehemiah "repaired" the old walls, partially destroyed by Nebuzaradan.

Following the prophet's specification, we learn that the City Portion—"common" to all its inhabitants—was for residence, and that four-fifths of its area (eight square miles) was for tillage, the increase of its fields being for food for them that labour in the city. Each of the four walls of the square city was to be pierced for three gates, and without these was a roadway outside of and round the walls, of 125 yards in width. From this point fences might be erected toward the east and west, and terraces built for the cultivation of the hill-sides. On the north side of the city wall the roadway was intended to run parallel with, and immediately below, the south wall of the Haram Area, where in ancient times had been a street, access to which was given on the east by the Horse Gate, then standing above the Kidron Valley, and at the south-east corner of the Haram Area.

II. *The Priests' Portion.*—Due north of the City Portion, and having the same alignment as it, lay that of the Priests. This consisted of about twenty square miles of territory, in the centre of which, measuring from its eastern and western limits, but on its southern boundary line, stood the "Sanctuary." By the word "Sanctuary," in his forty-eighth chapter, Ezekiel does not mean other than the unnamed "it" of XLII. 15,

and the "Holy Place" of XLV. 2. In each of these three sections of his writings the reference is to the *Chel*, which stood round about the Temple as a terrace or rampart. This was a square of 250 yards enclosed by a *Soreg* wall, outside of which, on each of its four sides, was a border or walk of twenty-five yards in width, as shown in the frontispiece.

The whole area of the Sanctuary of the House (XLIII. 21) was thus three hundred yards in length each way.

As the exterior measure of the Haram wall is 922 feet on the south side, it is obvious that the square tessellated pavement of the Sanctuary covered nearly the whole interior extent of Moriah on its southern front.

Some uncertainty exists as to whether the Sanctuary of the *Chel*, as described by Ezekiel, was meant to stand "in the midst" of the whole oblation of fifty miles, or "in the midst," i.e. east and west, of the twenty miles which formed the Priests' portion of that area, and no final settlement has as yet been arrived at on this point (comp. Driver's footnote on p. 63).

A third and novel proposition is that the *Chel* stood "in the midst" of the two portions which lay on the south side—the Levites' portion in this case being excluded from the calculation. This opinion is founded upon a textual distinction being made between the "oblation" and the "holy oblation." By the former is meant sometimes the whole square of fifty miles, and sometimes the area given to the Levites; and by the

latter always that given to the Priests. The earlier verses of chapter XLV. (i.e. 1–4) deal solely with the latter, and state that in addition to its being a place for the Priests' houses, it was to be the section within which the Temple and Sanctuary were to stand. A later section (XLVIII. 21, 22) states that it was "in the midst" of the holy oblation—the context *reckoning only the dimension from east to west*, and not that from north to south—that the Sanctuary of the *Chel* was to be placed. It has accordingly been so plotted on the accompanying plan—the Sakhrah stone being taken as the *datum* from which all the other measures are taken. By this allocation of ground the Temple was to be built outside the new city walls, and to their immediate north, i.e. on its *old* site, west of the Sakhrah stone ; while a new Jerusalem was to be built to its immediate south.

III. *The Levites' Portion.*—To the north of the other two portions lay that of the Levites, equal in size to that given to the Priests, and associated with it is the gift of twenty chambers in the Temple (Ezek. XLV. 5). This land they were forbidden to sell or to exchange. Nor were the first-fruits thereof to be alienated from the service of the Temple. In this way we learn that it was intended to be used largely for purposes of cultivation and agriculture. The whole "portion" being cut up into small allotments would support a considerable number of agricultural families, the inferior clergy, when not on duty,

acting as market gardeners for the neighbouring city, and receiving a portion of their subsistence from the Temple dues and tithes of the people.

In this way a prospective substitution was effected of a certain amount of cultivatable land for the use of the Temple clergy, in place of the forty-eight cities which Moses and Joshua had given to them, but which David had reduced in number to forty-two. The whole hierarchical system of ancient land-tenure was swept away, as by a stroke of the pen, and instead of Priests and Levites being scattered over all the tribal tenures from Dan to Beersheba, they were collected together and placed to the north of the Temple, the holy city itself lying to the immediate south of their joint allotments.

IV. *The Princes' Portion.*—In addition to receiving a certain small portion of the fruits of all the labour of his subjects (see p. 53), there was given to the Prince of Judah, in Ezekiel's Arcadia, a certain portion of the sacred territory. This portion lay in two parts, one on either side of the sacred oblation. That oblation having been shown to be of the width of $7\frac{1}{10}$ English miles, it follows that the halves of the portion to be given to the Prince for the upkeep of his court and station were of the same width. They stretched on either side of that, eastward and westward, to the confines of the occupied territory —wherever they might be. Lest such a portion of the territory should be deemed to be excessive for the civil head of a State who was no longer

King, it is to be remembered that upon him lay the burden of keeping the streets and walls of the city in repair, and of providing such defensive forces as were requisite in order to maintain the terms of the dominant suzerainty. This probably involved the raising and equipping of a certain number of men to aid the supreme power—whenever called upon to do so.

There was no such thing known to the Hebrew policy as a direct tax for maintaining the head of the State in affluence and dignity. Uzziah, we are told, had much cattle in the *Shephelah*, and flocks in the sheep-walks of the *Mishor* of Moab. He had husbandmen also to grow corn and oil, and vinedressers in the hills of Judah about the southern Carmel, near to Hebron (2 Chron. xxvi. 10). In this respect he but exceeded the usual husbandry of the Kings of Judah, who all followed the same method of farming in order to raise revenue for civil and military purposes.

If the descendant of David—to be looked up to by the restored nation as the embodiment of their national and Messianic hopes, was to be other than an ordinary citizen, it was necessary that he should have an entailment of property which should lift him socially above his fellows and contemporaries. This was foreseen by Ezekiel, and provided for in the allotment of a Prince's domain, which stretched eastward and westward, and lay near to the capital (Ezek. xlv. 7, 8).

This domain, during his lifetime, was the property of the civil head of the State, though

no longer its absolute ruler, but it was saddled with one or two conditions which were new and unusual. One was that he might part with portions of it to his sons, and that in such a case the gifts should be irrevocable. But if any portion of it were given to a subject, it should be in his possession only until the next jubilee year, when it should revert to the Royal Estate. In this way the entail would be continued, and the whole domain would remain the possession of the family of David, in one or other of its branches (Ezek. XLVI. 16–18). Such was the prophetic forecast, a forecast which, in its initial part, was attempted to be realized by the selection of Zerubbabel as their "Prince" at the time of the return from captivity.

V. *The Tribal Allotments.*—In proceeding to undo and to reaccomplish the work of Joshua in making a fresh division of the Land of Promise among the twelve tribes of Israel, Ezekiel was confronted with an enormous difficulty. It was a difficulty which to any other than the eye of faith would have seemed insuperable. It was that the land of the northern tribes had been occupied for two centuries by Assyrian settlers (2 Kings XVII. 24), all of whom, or any of whom, it would be impossible to dispossess. That the country was not altogether denuded of its Hebrew inhabitants, in spite of the 27,290 persons who the Annals of Sargon tell us were brought into captivity at the fall of Samaria, we know; for the population of the ten tribes must have been

much larger than this or than the sum of all the deportations. A mixed Palestinian race had since grown up, both in the north and in the south, where the poorest of the people of the land had been left by Nebuchadrezzar. It was this foreign and mixed race which formed Ezekiel's difficulty. How were they to be dealt with? Extermination—possible in the days of Joshua—was now impossible, as the suzerain power would not allow order to be disturbed. Wiser than his successors Ezra and Nehemiah, Ezekiel proposed that these aliens should, on the restoration, be received into the commonwealth of Israel and should receive inheritance among the tribes of Israel on the same terms as the children of promise (Ezek. XLVII. 22, 23). Such a revolutionary doctrine as this, which subverted the strongest and most widely-spread prejudice as to the superiority of the blood of Abraham's children, was one so far in advance of his age that it has not yet been accepted by the Jews. There, however, it stands as a monument to the lofty statesmanship and spirituality of mind of him who is thought to be the most ecclesiastically-minded of all the prophets. Ezekiel has no monument so abiding, testifying to his true greatness of soul, as the few words * in which are enshrined his solution

* "It shall come to pass, that ye shall divide it by lot for an inheritance unto you and to the strangers that sojourn among you, which shall beget children among you; and they shall be unto you as the home-born among the Children of Israel; they shall have inheritance with you among the tribes of Israel.

"And it shall come to pass that in what tribe the stranger sojourneth, there shall ye give him his inheritance, saith the Lord God" (Ezekiel XLVII. 22–3).

of the greatest political difficulty which he saw before him, or which could possibly exist for him.

With this antecedent provision, making possible the future resettlement of portions of the twelve tribes upon the land given to their fathers, the prophet proceeds with the development of his scheme.

To the north of the central band which stretched from side to side, as the holy portion, the following seven tribes were to be located—Judah, Reuben, Ephraim, Manasseh, Naphtali, Asher, Dan.

To its south these five tribes were to be located —Benjamin, Simeon, Issachar, Zebulun, Gad.

In each case the apportionment was to be by lot, as at the first.

The corner boundaries of the four sides of the whole land are given, and are in the main the same as those which Moses and Joshua had defined, enclosing the terrain running from the entering-in of Hamath on the north to the brook of Egypt on the south.

If divided into twelve equal bands of territory or cantons, this area gave a strip of soil 15 or 18 miles in breadth to each tribe.

Such was the vast and brilliant proposal laid before the Elders of Israel by their foremost counsellor and seer, before his death. The whole comprehensive scheme involved the rebuilding of the Temple, the removal of the city walls, the abandonment of all past tribal and family claims to real property by every landholder, and, most exacting of all, the immediate absorption of all

the Samaritan and other idolaters into the household of God and into the family of Abraham. The alternative for the non-Hebrews, of course, would be voluntary removal to another country. Thus much, it was hoped, might be accomplished in time, but whether accomplished or not, the scheme stood before them in its entirety as one to be aimed at. Very much would depend upon the terms on which the repatriation should take place. As this, however, was still in the dim and distant future, nothing could be said about it. The duty of the present for the expatriated families in Babylonia and Persia was to prepare themselves for their return by learning the lessons of faith, patience, and hope which the times were calculated to teach them. To this end, we may be sure, Ezekiel devoted the closing years of his life. As a wise master-builder he had laid the foundation of a Jewish State in which its inhabitants should be "all righteous." It devolved upon them to make themselves such, certain that there would be a sifting at the end, and that those who had wholly failed to learn these lessons of trust and self-abnegation would refuse to return, thus making Jerusalem as a threshing-floor, the wheat of which had been winnowed and made clean.

We have, in the twenty-ninth chapter of the prophecies of Ezekiel, a postscript which was written after the thirteen years' siege of Tyre, and in the twenty-seventh year of the prophet's captivity, i.e. 570 B.C. It is well known from secular history that Tyre, being built on an island,

successfully resisted the attack of Nebuchadrezzar. It was on receipt of the news that his army had been withdrawn, that Ezekiel wrote his postscript. It was to assure Nebuchadrezzar that though he had no gain, and his army was worn out with labour, yet wages for the service he had rendered against Tyre should be given to him in Egypt.*

This is the last line we have from the statesman-prophet's pen. He was now fifty-two years of age, and may not have lived to see the days of Cyrus. He was, however, held in grateful memory by his compatriots, and such honour as they could pay to him they did. His tomb, a mighty structure, is still shown in the land of Shinar, but needs the spade of the excavator to determine the truth of the tradition which connects it with his name.

* A single cuneiform *historical* inscription (there are many of other kinds), belonging to the reign of Nebuchadrezzar, is now in the British Museum. It records the fact that in the thirty-seventh year of his reign (568 B.C.) he sent an expedition to Egypt and defeated Pharaoh Amasis, whose regnal years are 570-526 B.C.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHALDEAN EXILE AND THE FALL OF BABYLON

THE seventh and sixth centuries B.C. were centuries of short-lived empires and kingdoms. One great Power succeeded another so rapidly that the imagination refuses to believe in their greatness, or becomes lost in the mazes of a too rapidly moving phantasmagoria of ancient history. Of these powers some, at this period, were receding into the distance, others coming into the foreground. Of those passing away we may instance that of the Median tribes as one of the most formidable.

MEDIA (Manda).—We catch a momentary glimpse of Media in the fall of Samaria and the northern kingdom, when we are told that Sargon, King of Assyria, carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed some of the unfortunate exiles in "the cities of the Medes." This could not have been done had Media not been an ally of Nineveh or a province of the Assyrian Empire. We have no clear data to guide us as to which of these relationships was the true one.* The submission or alliance, however, clearly appears in the eighth century B.C. A century later we find Media,

* A cuneiform inscription states that Sargon about 713 B.C. received the submission of forty-five Median Chiefs. They had apparently at that time no common Sovereign.

as the ally of Babylon, besieging Nineveh. The city fell after a two years' investment (606 B.C.), and was so completely destroyed by Cyaxares, King of Media, and Nabopolasser, King of Babylon, that it has remained a desolation ever since. Layard reports that the alabaster sculptured figures lining the walls of its palaces were first defaced with chisels and then burnt with fire. Its noblest literary memorial is "the oracle concerning Nineveh" of the prophet Nahum, in which he threatens Nineveh with the cruel fate which she shortly before had inflicted upon Thebes, the city of No-amon in Egypt (Neh. III. 8).

Babylon itself was to fall before the onslaught of the same people, when Cyrus, King of Anshan, in alliance with the Medes—who were probably Scythians—as his vassals, took the city. With the capture of Babylon in 538 B.C. the history of Babylonia as an independent nation also came to an end. It remained subject to the Persians, until the conquests of Alexander brought it under Greek control.

A nation which was largely instrumental in the final destruction, first of Nineveh, and then of Babylon—though there never existed a separate Median Kingdom, but a collection of nomad tribes only—cannot be refused its place as one of the great powers of the ancient world. It is now remembered chiefly by the proverbial saying that the law of the Medes and Persians altereth not. Even this saying gives to the Medes the prior place as the older nation. Their capital city, Achmetha, now *Ahmetha* — once

known as Ecbatana—is mentioned in Ezra VI. 1 as the place where, on appeal, a distant copy of the decree of Cyrus was found, giving permission for the erection of the second Temple. Media was at that time a "principal province" of the Persian Empire, Cyrus the King having gradually extended his rule and founded the Medo-Persian Empire, with Shushan, now *Susa*, as his chief capital * (Neh. I. 1; Dan. VIII. 2).

The policy pursued by the Kings of Nineveh, who carried the *ten* tribes into captivity, and followed by the Kings of Babylon, who carried the *two* tribes into captivity, was one which was the inevitable outcome of incessant wars and rebellions within their own dominions. So cruel was the treatment of captured cities, and so heavy the taxation which followed their capture, that men preferred an uncertain death to the continuation of such a life. Under such severe conditions of serfdom as were imposed, they rose against their enslavers again and again. Each revolt was punished more severely than its predecessor, and thus there came about a state of things which became intolerable even to the victorious despots. At times these risings were successful—then we have a transference of power from one capital to another, or the birth of a new nation is recorded.

In despair of an otherwise peaceful and ordered

* Susa or Shushan is situate on the Choaspes river, now the *Kerkhah*, on a plain, in nearly the same parallel of latitude as Babylon. This city is the place where, in 1902, was discovered the code of Babylonian laws drawn up by Hammurabi or Amraphel, the contemporary of Abraham (Gen. XIV. 1).

government, the States named as having been successfully concerned in the subjugation of Syria and Palestine determined upon adopting a policy of exchange of populations. They saw that attachment to their native soil gave vitality to revolt after revolt on the part of their conquered Semitic subjects. It was with the idea of breaking these attachments that the scheme of transfer and retransfer was adopted. Sargon II, King of Assyria, who came to the throne in 721, the year of Samaria's fall, records having taken 27,290 captives, and placed them in Media and on the Euphrates. He was not the first to adopt this policy. Twenty years before, his predecessor, Tiglath-Pileser III, had carried away the northern tribes of Israel, as well as those beyond the Jordan (2 Kings xv. 29; 1 Chron. v. 25, 26). To him, therefore, must we attribute the application of this policy to the Hebrews. He was a military usurper, who reigned over Assyria and Babylon for eighteen years—745 to 727 B.C. His Babylonian name was Pul, or Pulu, a fact which reconciles several passages of biblical history.* We do not know that he made any attempt to repopulate the denuded cities of Gilead or of Galilee. But when Sargon followed this policy he "brought men from Babylon, from Cuthah, from Ava, from Hamath, and Sapharvaim, and placed them in the cities

* e.g. 2 Kings xv. 19, in which the King of Assyria is twice named Pul, and 2 Kings xvi. 7, in which the King of Assyria is named Tiglath-Pileser. He is the King of Assyria, against the embassy to, and alliance with whom Isaiah so stoutly protested (Isaiah vii. 1–ix 7).

of Samaria, instead of the Children of Israel (2 Kings XVII. 24).

Esar-haddon—son of Sennacherib—who built the great palace of *Kouyunjik* at Nineveh, and who reigned from 682–1 to 669–8, is mentioned in Ezra IV. 2 as the man who, from the East, brought the Samaritans up ; and in verse 10 as "the great and noble Osnappar," who brought over and set in the city of Samaria, and in the rest of the country around it, men of no less than *nine* nationalities and communities. Some of these were from Babylon, others from Elam, others from Sushan, and some from Erech, the city of Genesis X. 10.

In his enlarging upon the policy of Sargon by filling up the empty lands of Samaria (2 Kings XVII. 24), we may be sure that so large-minded a ruler as Esar-haddon did it because the country was largely vacant and relapsing into a wilderness. This view is borne out by the fact that lions had increased to such an extent among them that human life was not safe (2 Kings XVII. 25, 26).

The total number of Hebrew colonists taken to the Assyrio-Babylonian territory is not known. Sargon reports the number of captives taken away at the fall of Samaria as 27,290. In Sennacherib's inscription-account of his *first* invasion of Judah he says, "Forty-six of his (Hezekiah's) strong cities and fortresses and smaller towns without number I took. I took 200,150 people, small and great, male and female."

The sacred historian (2 Kings XXIV. 14) reports the removal by Nebuchadrezzar of 10,000 male

adult captives, to which Jeremiah adds 4600 as being the number of civilian male adults taken during the sieges, and at the fall of Jerusalem. The total of these figures is 242,550, and they by no means include all those who crossed the Euphrates on their way to the lands of the East, as women, children, and servants were not enumerated in the biblical records.

If we place a total migrated population of from 500,000 to a million souls among the mountains of Media and on the plains of Mesopotamia, we may still be under the actual number of those who were deported from Palestine at the break up of its two kingdoms.*

The position of these deported colonists was not that of serfs or slaves. They were free citizens of an old-established kingdom ; heavily taxed, no doubt, but free to order their lives as they pleased, to go from place to place, and to engage in any trade or occupation that presented itself. They, doubtless, followed the advice given by Jeremiah to the members of the great deportation under Jeconiah : to build houses, to plant gardens, to multiply and not diminish in numbers, and, generally, to seek the peace of the place where they were, and to pray for the life of its King (Jer. xxix. 5–7).

The Jewish Colonies of the Assyrio-Medo-Babylonian Empires were Crown possessions, under royal protection. The lands the colonists

* Before the fall of Jerusalem two fenced cities alone—Lachish and Azekah—remained untaken by the Babylonians (Jer. xxxiv. 7). These were afterwards occupied.

tilled were grants from the Kings, on which they were free to live in accordance with their own religion, laws, and customs.* They had the same civil and religious privileges as were conceded to those who took their places in Palestine and beyond the river Euphrates. What these were we know from many passages of history (2 Kings XVII. 24–41 ; the Books of Esther and Ezra). We have confirmations of this view in the prophecies of Ezekiel, as also in the fact that upon a decree of general release being issued by Cyrus, many Jews refused to act upon it, and preferred to stay in the land of their exile—now the land of their adoption. A mere fraction of the whole, or " remnant " of the nation, elected to return to Palestine. Their condition, therefore, could not have been insupportable in the land of the Chaldeans. Many acquired riches ; others, as Daniel, Mordecai, Ezra, and Nehemiah, rose to positions of wealth and influence.

The conditions of the political world were favourable to such advancement. The long reign of Nebuchadrezzar II ended 561 B.C. For forty-three years he had reigned with illustrious splendour over the kingdom founded by his father in 625 B.C.—the southern provinces of Assyria being then included as part of the third Babylonian Empire. The pages of Daniel bear witness to the material might of his power and the glory of his majesty. Great as a soldier, he

* Their secret aspirations meanwhile were : " Oh, that the salvation of Israel were come out of Zion ! When the Lord bringeth back the captivity of His people, then shall Jacob rejoice, and Israel be glad " (Psalm XIV. 7).

became greater as a builder and restorer. He covered the land with rebuilt cities and temples. Sir Henry Rawlinson examined the bricks in ruins of not less than a hundred cities and temples around Baghdad, and found the stamp of Nebuchadrezzar on every one of them!

Toward this result the exiled Jews contributed, as it is not to be supposed that the expense of all the great public works was defrayed by the King. It would be enough if he issued a decree ordering that all bricks made during his reign should bear his name and titles.

By this simple expedient there are to-day myriads of building *antiques* scattered over the land, each of which bears witness to a great revival of wealth and commercial activity during the reign of Nebuchadrezzar.

His son and successor was the Evil-merodach of 2 Kings xxv. 27. After a reign of two years he was assassinated by his brother-in-law, Nergal-Sharezer,* otherwise Neriglissar, who for three years succeeded him on the throne. *His* infant son Labasi-marduk followed, who, after a regency of nine months, was murdered by his nobles. A few months of interregnum followed, during which the conspirators matured their plans. Thus was fulfilled the prediction of Jeremiah: "All the nations shall serve Nebuchadrezzar, and his son and his son's son" (Jer. xxvii. 7). The remainder of the prophecy was now to be

* This name occurs thrice in Jeremiah's account of the fall of Jerusalem (Jer. xxxix. 3, 13) as that of a prince of Babylon, who had the office of *Rab-mag*. He was the future king, as is shown by the fact that he was son-in-law to Nebuchadrezzar.

completed: "Until the time of his own land come; and then many nations and great kings shall serve themselves of him."

There was now a complete change of dynasty at Babylon.* Nabonidus—the Nabonaid of the inscriptions—a military officer, was placed upon the throne by the palace revolution of 555 B.C. Of these many and great political changes, murders, and revolutions, Daniel and the Hebrew immigrants then in Babylon were not, we may be sure, uninterested spectators or uninfluenced subjects.

False prophets had long ago predicted a short tenure of power for the dynasty of the father of Nebuchadrezzar—founder of the third and last Babylonian Empire (Jer. XXVIII. 11). In answer to the false hopes raised by such unauthorized declarations, Jeremiah was commissioned to say that the exile would last seventy years, at the end of which period deliverance would come (Jer. XXIX. 10). During twenty of these years the Temple stood, and on its fall but fifty years of exile remained.

As Daniel's captivity took place a year or two before Nebuchadrezzar's accession to the throne, we find that at this monarch's death forty-five years of the national exile had passed, and his dynasty closed in blood when fifty years of the captivity had gone.

* The account of this event which Josephus quotes from the third book of the Chaldaic History of Berosus, who wrote in the fourth century B.C., is in the main a true narrative and summary of the facts. The personal names are, however, variations of the true ones, and the account of the last days and death of Nabonidus is mere legend. *Against Apion*, book I, § 20.

It is to the remaining twenty years of the captivity that our attention is now limited. These were years in which events were ripening for the great catastrophe and the fall of that Empire, the crash of whose overturn resounded throughout the then-known world, finding an echo in the Apocalypse of John, "Fallen, fallen is Babylon the great!" Anticipatory shadows of this event may be seen in Isaiah XIII. 1 to XIV. 27, where the Medes are mentioned as the instruments of it; and in Jeremiah L. 1 to LI. 58, where the prophet in his closing words predicts a fate as sudden for Babylon as that which had already overtaken Nineveh.

It is to the seventeen years' reign of Nabonidus that our eyes are now directed. We have, fortunately, full cuneiform records of several of those years, and are able to trace the course of events with certainty and some minuteness. The new Sovereign's plan for adding to the greater glory of Babylon or to its safety was the removal to the capital of the images of local deities, which were scattered throughout the cities of the Empire, thus trampling under foot that cardinal rule of all polytheistic faiths, by which every country and city had its own gods, of limited geographical power, who protected and delivered it. Thus, the first Samaritan settlers sent to the King of Assyria to tell him that as they did not know the manner of the god of the land he had sent lions among them. A Jewish priest was therefore returned from Babylon to Shechem to teach them (2 Kings XVII. 28).

This localization of religion and consequent nationalization of worship was the great barrier to the spread of any simple or monotheistic faith, such as that of the Jews. Nabonidus' action, though really one in advance of such parochial-mindedness, was bitterly resented by the peoples, cities, and more especially by the provincial priests, who found their temples empty and themselves and their co-religionists without any visible objects of worship. By the removal of the local deities from their ancient shrines, Nabonidus, at the same time, detracted from the pre-eminence enjoyed by the two great divinities of Babylon itself—Marduk and Nebo, and diminished, by dissipation among others, the revenues of their temples and priests. A spirit of prejudice and disaffection spread through the Empire, and the unpopularity of the Royal family was wide and deep. The King was also accused, by the Priests, of personal irreligion, and of not visiting the Temples in state on the days on which such visits were obligatory. Nabonidus did not reside at Babylon, but at some unknown place called Tema ; and hence, probably, neglected the great ceremony of taking the hands of Marduk on the first day of each succeeding year. This symbolic rite was deemed necessary to the retention of his throne as a constitutional sovereign by every Babylonian King.

It was in these political circumstances that the blow fell which hurled Nabonidus from his throne, and placed the Mistress of Kingdoms beneath the feet of a conqueror.

Ansan or Anshan was a province of the Elamite Empire, and was situate at the head of the Persian Gulf. Topographically it was a great plain, bounded on the one side by the river Tigris, and on the other by the mountains. Its capital was Susa, the Shushan of the Old Testament, then one of the great cities of the East.

The hereditary King of Anshan was Agradates, of the Achæmenid dynasty, who on his accession to power in 558 took the name of Kurash or Cyrus,* meaning illustrious (Deutero-Isaiah XLIV. 28, margin).

So far back as 645 B.C. Assur-bani-pal, King of Nineveh, had conquered Anshan, taking the capital, and incorporated it into the Assyrian Empire. On the fall of Nineveh in 606, Elam, including Anshan, became subject to the conquering Medes.

When Cyrus came to his vassal-throne he thus

* From the contents of the famous inscription of Darius on the rock of Behistun, we are able to give an authentic genealogical table of the Achæmenid line of kings to his time. It shows that Cyrus the Great was not the first sovereign of that name in this dynasty. The numeral prefixed to each name shows the order in which they reigned.

Achæmenes (not of royal blood).

1. Teispes (King of Elam).

Kings of Elam.	Kings of Persia.
2. Cyrus I. (Agradates).	4. Ariaramnes.
3. Cambyses I.	5. Arsames.
7. Cyrus II. the Great (King of Elam, Persia, and Babylon).	6. Hystaspes (Governor of Parthia).
8. Cambyses II. (last of the elder branch).	9. Darius I. (surnamed Hystaspis).

For continuation see p. 158.

had reprisals to make, and first freed himself from the Median yoke. Its King, Astyages, was conquered in battle, and Ecbatana, the capital of Media, taken and ruthlessly sacked.* Passing by the victory of Cyrus over Crœsus, King of Lydia, we find him, with the Medes as allies or subjects, next invading Babylonia. The attack was made from the north. The Chaldean army of defence was commanded by Belshazzar, the King's son and Crown Prince.† The rival forces met at Opis, on the Tigris, about 110 miles north of Babylon.

The annalistic tablet of Naboniad and Cyrus, now in the British Museum, states that in the seventeenth year of Naboniad's reign (538 B.C.) ‡ Kurash delivered battle against the troops of the Babylonian province of Akkad, *whom he smote*, in a series of engagements, the great battle taking place on the fourteenth day of the seventh month, Tishri (September), as the text of the month is read in the *Jewish Cyclopædia*. Sippar, the second city of the Kingdom, was taken

* Tablet No. 35,382—now in the British Museum—records the defeat of Astyages by Cyrus, and the capture and spoiling of Ecbatana, his capital. It also mentions the subsequent taking of Babylon and the downfall of Nabonidus.

† Belshazzar is termed "King" in Dan. v. 1, and the first and third years of his reign are mentioned in vii. 1 and viii. 1. He was never sole King, but was associated with his father Nabonidus in the government of Babylon. Such family arrangements were usual then. Also, a common literary practice was to give the title of king to a sovereign who afterwards became such, but who at the time written of was either a private person or the heir-apparent. In this case, owing to the retired and student habits of Nabonidus, Belshazzar was the real ruler of the Kingdom, and was so termed by Daniel.

‡ This is also the year of the capture of Babylon given by Ptolemy.

without fighting. On the 16th the soldiers of Cyrus, under Gubaru, entered Babylon "without fighting." Nabonidus, who had fled from Sippar, was captured in Babylon on the third day of the eighth month. Eight days later he was put to death.

Cyrus himself did not enter Babylon till seventeen days after its surrender to Gubaru. In the meantime the city was governed by the military commander-in-chief, whom Herodotus, with many fanciful tales, now wholly discredited, mistakenly styles Gobryas.* Something has been made of the idea that Cyrus is said to have appointed as Governor of Babylon Gubaru, who held the office of Governor of Gutium. This is not so stated in the inscriptions. It is evident that, the city having surrendered to the army sent to its attack,† it became necessary at once to institute some form of government. Gubaru, the military commander, on its surrender, therefore immediately appointed "Governors," i.e. magis-

* Gobryas was one of six noble Persian generals who, many years later, aided Darius Hystaspis to recover the kingdom of Cyrus the Great to the Achæmenid dynasty. See § 18 of the fourth column of the Behistun inscription. This inscription is written in the languages of Persia, Media, and the Semitic language of Nineveh and Babylon. It is of great length and of classical importance. A translation is given in the appendix to Prof. Sayce's *Introduction to Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther.*

† Jeremiah had prophesied that Babylon would fall at the attack of the Medes and their allies, "the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz," who should attack her under a single marshal, supported by hosts of cavalry (Jer. LI. 27). He also tells us that the mighty men of Babylon should be affrighted, forbear to fight, and remain in their strongholds, while the enemy seized the fords of the Euphrates and set fire to the marshes covered with reeds, which then as now adjoined the city. This may now be read as history (Jer. LI. 30–32).

trates, of Babylon, while Cyrus, at a little distance, prepared the line of policy which he intended to adopt on entering the city. This is the course usually adopted in conquests of this kind.

The annalistic tablet—the material part of which is appended to this chapter as a note—does not show that Cyrus delayed his entry into the new capital for so long as three or four months. Its evidence is that E-sagil, the great central temple of the Sun-god, Marduk, was guarded by Gubaru's spearmen "to the end of the month," and that on the third day of another month—evidently the one following that already mentioned—"Cyrus entered Babylon." In this case but seventeen days would have elapsed between his occupation of the city and his triumphal entry into Babylon. This famous entry of Cyrus into Babylon was followed by his inaugural proclamation of peace to the city and to its outlying districts. The date of his entry was the third day of Marchesvan (October).* Numerous dated cuneiform inscriptions of the time leave no room for any King between Nabonidus and Cyrus.† Those belonging to the former reign run to the tenth day of Marchesvan; those belonging to the latter begin on the 24th day of the same month, in the accession year

* As Babylonian months were of thirty days, from the sixteenth of one month to the third of another would be seventeen days.

† About four hundred dated private documents from Babylon, in cuneiform, record events of the nine years of Cyrus' reign as King of Babylon, which are spread over the whole of those years. This fact may be taken as conclusive evidence that Darius the Mede was a subordinate King, as the tablets of Babylon written during his reign always bear the name of Cyrus.

of Cyrus. The plain implication of the tablet system is that the formal change of sovereign by proclamation was made on the 10th or 11th day of Marchesvan, seven or eight days after the royal entry. What gives this date its importance is the fact, stated in the tablet text, that in the night which followed the last-named day, i.e. the 11th, the King's son was slain by Gubaru.

After his defeat at Opis, Belshazzar took refuge in Babylon, where he was unmolested by the conquering general, though his father was captured and slain. He may justly have indulged hopes of being appointed satrap or vassal-King of Babylon by Cyrus, as such appointments were then customary—a custom of which later Hebrew royal history affords us several examples. The proclamation issued by Cyrus on his accession is in our hands, and is known as the Cylinder of Cyrus. It is a document drawn up by a priestly hand, and is remarkable for the veneration Cyrus is made to express for the gods of Babylonia, and especially for Marduk, from whom he acknowledges he had received the Kingdom.

It states :—

> "Without contest and battle he (Marduk) made him (Cyrus) enter into Babylon his city. Babylon he spared from tribulation. Nabonidus, the King that did not fear him (Marduk), he delivered into his hand" (i.e. the hand of Cyrus).

This cylinder-inscription is a political and diplomatic document of the highest importance. It does not give us any light on the *personal*

religious views of Cyrus, but—bearing in mind the history of Nabonidus and the cause of his fall—its author announces a complete change of policy toward the popular and national deities—a pledge which Cyrus nobly redeemed, and of which the restoration of the Temple vessels was a consequence.

It is in the light of such facts as these that we may see the full significance of the Prince of Babylon's action on the occasion of the royal proclamation as recorded in the fifth chapter of Daniel. Belshazzar made a great feast to a thousand of his lords on the day of some great festival. The golden vessels of the Temple were produced and used for the occasion. "They drank wine, and praised the gods of gold and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone." This feast was the inauguration of a revolutionary movement, which was to carry with it the approval of all the deities of the land, and be by their aid carried to success. It is highly probable that the feast was held in the great Temple of Marduk, which the annalistic tablet states was not violated by the invaders. Its gates were guarded by them, but no alien entered into it, nor was any victorious standard placed there. Such a refrain from insult was the settled policy of the conquerors.

There is, therefore, no incongruity in supposing that Belshazzar's feast was held *after* the capture of the city, nor need we find any difficulty in the fact that Daniel spoke of Nebuchadrezzar as the "father" of Belshazzar. This was merely

a form of Eastern politeness, uttered in recognition of the fact that he was Belshazzar's greatest political ancestor.

The abrupt conclusion of the biblical narrative, "In that night Belshazzar the Chaldean King was slain," coincides with the statement of the annalistic tablet that, "On the eleventh day of Marchesvan, *during the night*, Gubaru made an assault and slew the King's son." News of the treasonable speeches made at Belshazzar's feast had without doubt been carried to the Governor of the city, the "assault" named being on the great Temple, which had hitherto been free from occupation. The action which followed the raising of the standard of revolt was the only course which was open to the victorious general. The next statement is that Darius the Mede received the Kingdom, being about threescore and two years old, thus settling the question which had so nearly led to a native rising and bloody revolt in the city.

Darius the Median has several mentions in the Book of Daniel (v. 31 ; vi. *passim* ; ix. 1 ; xi. 1), which go to show that he "received the Kingdom" from another, and that he "was *made* King over the realm of the Chaldeans" by a stronger hand, whom he served as deputy or viceroy. That Darius and Cyrus were contemporary sovereigns is implied in the record that "Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian." It is still more clearly apparent in the fact that the third year of Cyrus, King of Persia (Dan. x. 1), is implied

to have followed, at an indeterminate distance, "the first year of Darius the Mede" (Dan. xi. 1).

This Darius the Median was a son of a certain Xerxes, and had come in the train of Cyrus as a member of the expedition. He was not of royal birth,* and is not to be confused with either of the Achæmenid Kings, Darius I, son of Hystaspis, or his successors Darius II and Darius III, all of whom lived long afterwards. He was simply a Median nobleman, whom Cyrus elected to serve him as King of Babylon, with large if conditioned powers, as his vassal or deputy. The internal administration of the new conquest having been handed over to Darius the Mede, Gubaru would naturally confine himself to his duties as commander or general. Cyrus did not at once leave Babylon, but remained there the more effectually to consolidate his power by a great religious ceremony. We have seen that he entered Babylon in October, 538 B.C. One of his first actions was to return the idols to their own shrines. Three months, the inscription tells us, were occupied in their transfer. Not till this was done did the coronation ceremony take place. On the first day of the following year, Nisan 1 (March 21st), in conformity with Babylonian custom, Cyrus grasped the hands of the golden statue of Bel-Marduk, and thus became consecrated as rightful monarch. This date begins the first year of his reign as King of Babylon.

* That he was a commoner at the time of his elevation is involved in the statement of Daniel that he was then "about threescore and two years old" (Dan. v. 31).

Soon afterwards he left the city, which he did not make his residence, but preferred to live at Susa. He died on the battlefield, 529 B.C., in an expedition against the Nomads of the Turanian Steppes,* and was buried among his own people at Passargadæ, now *Murghab*, where his tomb is still shown. In his last year he handed over the sovereignty of Babylon to his son Cambyses.

Except for this indication of time, it is not known how long Darius the Median ruled at Babylon. It was over the soil of the Babylonian sub-Kingdom that Darius placed 120 satraps or chief magistrates—Daniel being one of the three Presidents of the Kingdom, not of the Persian Empire. The same chapter which records these details (Dan. VI.) also records the fact that the law of the Medes and Persians was supreme at Babylon and over Darius the Mede. That he had no power to set it aside or to modify it is the basis of the story of Daniel and the lions' den. To confuse this subaltern sovereign with the monarchs of the Archæmenian dynasty is unhistorical, and is such an error as only a pure philologist is capable of, who cannot see that in a great Kingdom there might be more than one person bearing the name of Darius the son of Xerxes. The three Dariuses, I, II, III, were Persians and Emperors (Neh. II. 1). This Darius was a Mede and a subject.

* These were almost certainly the Scythians, who appear as "Sakians" in the Behistun inscription. Their overthrow by Darius Hystaspis and the execution of their King was thus an act of retaliation prompted by revenge for the death of Cyrus the Great.

But there is, in truth, no second "Darius the son of Xerxes"* known to history. Darius I was the son of Hystapes, Xerxes was the son of Darius I. Darius the Median retains his place on the page of the Sacred History, as the owner of a full and sufficient title, distinct enough to distinguish him from all others. The cardinal fact to bear in mind as we read his history in Daniel is that the Babylon over which he ruled was not the great Empire of Nebuchadrezzar, but a subjected province of the Persian Power.

The Babylonian monarchy was a strictly limited one, as, owing to the conservative habits of mind of the priestly hierarchy, no sovereign could continue to be recognized as legitimate King of Babylon who did not "take the hands" of the god Marduk in his Temple of E-sagil on the first day of every new year. It was not enough that he should have done so at his accession, as was the case in Egypt when Alexander travelled into the Libyan desert to take the hand of the god in the Temple of No-Amon. The priests and populace in Babylon could be satisfied only when this became an annual ceremony, a custom for which—from their point of view—much might be said. So well established was this sentiment, that when Sargon II conquered Babylon he adopted the title of *Shakkanah*, i.e. Governor or

* In Daniel IX. 1 this Darius is termed the son of Ahasuerus, as in the Book of Esther Xerxes is termed "Ahasuerus." The two names are evidently synonymous, Ahasuerus being Persian and Xerxes Greek, but no mistake can be made between the men who bear these names, as Daniel tells us that his Darius was "of the seed of the Medes."

Viceroy, instead of King, as this did not require the renewal of the ceremony year by year.* Tiglath-Pileser of Nineveh was in the habit of making annual visits to Babylon, in order to be proclaimed King in this way. Sennacherib had refused to humour his Babylonian subjects in this way, and the Ptolemaic Canon—which clearly goes back to Babylonian sources—marks the years 704 and 703 as "*Kingless.*" This refusal caused the assumption of the title of King by Merodach-Baladan in 702 and led to a civil war and all its evils.

With these traditions before him, and the fresh example of the practical deposition of Nabonidus but a few weeks before, from the same cause, Cyrus had to decide upon a form of government for Babylonia which should avoid the evils of illegitimacy by effluxion of time. It must have appeared to him that, unless he resolved to live in Babylon and conform to the religious law of the land, the royal city must be allowed to have its own sovereign, who, by living in its midst, could meet the demands of the political rubric of the day, and continue to bear the title, "King of Babylon." Further, it was apparent that it would be wiser to appoint to this office a member of his own staff, rather than a prince or noble of local importance.

For these reasons Darius the Mede, accordingly, "received the Kingdom," and, for eight years, administered the government of Babylonia under Cyrus.

* *History of Babylonia and Assyria.* R. W. Rogers, D.D., New York, vol. II, pp. 175, 185.

NOTE

ON THE CLAY CYLINDER OF NABONIDUS

The annalistic tablet, or the Chronicle of Naboniad and Cyrus, describes year by year the events of Naboniad's reign. On its reverse side we have the account of Cyrus' conquest of Babylon.

A late translation with notes of this unique and priceless document is given by Dr. S. R. Driver in Hogarth's *Authority and Archæology*, pp. 124–5, and is as follows :—

> In the month of Tammuz (June) * when Cyrus, in the city of Ape (*Opis*) on the banks of the river Zalzallat, had delivered battle against the troops of Akkad, he subdued the inhabitants of Akkad. Wherever they gathered together he smote them.
>
> On the 14th day of the month, Sippar † was taken without fighting. Naboniad fled.
>
> On the 16th, Gubaru, Governor of the country of Guti, ‡ and the soldiers of Cyrus, without fighting, entered Babylon. In consequence of delaying, Nabonaid was taken prisoner in Babylon.
>
> To the end of the month, the shield (-bearers) of the country of Guti, guarded the gates of E-sagil. § No

* A likelier reading here is Tishri, September. This reading meets the difficulty referred to in Dr. Driver's text, and allows of an interval of seventeen days only between the surrender of Babylon to Gubaru and the entry into it of Cyrus. It is the reading adopted in the *Jewish Encyclopædia*. (W. S. C.)

† Near the Euphrates, about seventy miles north-west of Babylon.

‡ Gutium, a land and people on the north of Babylonia, in the mountainous district on the east of the little Zab, corresponding to the eastern part of the present Kurdistan.

§ E-sagil was the name of the Temple of Marduk or Merodach, the supreme deity of the city of Babylon. It had been completed and repaired, if not rebuilt, by Nebuchadrezzar.

one's spear approached E-sagil, or came within the sanctuaries, nor was any standard brought therein.

On the 3rd of Marchesvan (October) Cyrus entered Babylon. Dissensions (?) were allayed (?) before him. Peace for the city he established; peace to all Babylon did Cyrus proclaim. Gubaru, his Governor, appointed governors in Babylon.

From the month of Kisleb (November) to the month of Adar (February, viz. in the following year, 537), the gods to the country of Akkad, whom Nabonîad had brought down to Babylon, returned to their own cities.

On the eleventh day of Marchesvan, during the night, Gubaru made an assault (?) and slew the King's son (?).

From the 27th of Adar (February) to the 3rd of Nisan (March) there was lamentations in Akkad: all the people smote their heads.

The remainder of the annalistic tablet, so far as legible, tells us that on the fourth day of Nisan, "Kambyses, the son of Cyrus," arranged the burial of the body of Nabonidus in the Temple of the Sceptre of the World, and that the priests of the Temple of the Sceptre of Nebo attended the interment.

CHAPTER VII

PREPARATION FOR THE EXILES' RETURN

OF the six months which Cyrus is known to have spent in Babylon, one fact only is reported by the court annalist. It is that between the month of Kisleu (November) and the month of Adar (February of the following year), the figures of the gods whom Nabonidus had brought down to Babylon were returned to their cities, the exact dates of the first and the last loads being recorded. This was done in anticipation of the great coronation ceremony of the New Year (21st March). Before the holding of this festival all the provincial images had been sent home, as the most public declaration possible of the reversal of the late King's policy.

Cyrus now entered upon the first official year * of his reign as supreme sovereign of Babylonia, though already King of Anshan for twenty years and of Media for a shorter time. The opening year of the United Empire is that spoken of in Ezra I. 1, as "the first year of Cyrus." It was

* The five or six months which had passed since the surrender of the city are spoken of as belonging to the year of his accession, and are not reckoned as a part of the first year of his reign. This period of a King's reign is called in biblical history "the beginning" of a reign.

also that first year of his viceroy Darius, King of Babylon, which is referred to in Daniel IX. 1.*

With the text of Jeremiah XXIX. 10 before him, Daniel understood that the "seventy years" there spoken of might now be said to be near their completion.

He himself had been carried a captive to Babylon in 606–5 B.C.† It was now 538 B.C. He had lived through the whole period of the Exile, and was now something over eighty years of age. He therefore set himself to seek the God of Israel, and "by prayer and supplication, with fastings and sackcloth and ashes," to obtain from Jehovah a fulfilment of the promise of deliverance for his people and the adoption and

* The contents of the Book of Daniel are arranged in a way which is characteristically Hebrew. The first four chapters are biographic. Chapters V. and VI. are historical. The last six are prophetical. The adoption of this plan of arranging its contents accounts for the non-chronological sequence of the chapters in their present order. Its latest date is the third year of the contemporary sovereignties of Cyrus and Darius. If Daniel was twelve years of age at the time of the deportation, he may have lived to see the return in his eighty-fifth year—a not improbable contingency. The whole period of the seventy years is thus covered by his life: preceded by a boyhood of twelve years, and followed by three years of the Persian domination, during which all the events of his later years, as recorded in his book, may have taken place.

† As already shown (pp. 4, 5, 26, 27), the deportation of Daniel and his companions took place a year or two *before* the accession of Nebuchadrezzar. According to Ptolemy's Canon, he ascended the throne 604 B.C. This canon is of the second century A.D., and is an accurate and reliable document of Alexandrian origin. It thus confirms the date of 606–5 B.C. as having been the technical date of the captivity. Its being so may be used as an argument in favour of the social and political importance of Daniel and his companions, as the same prominence could not be given to the slavery of ordinary citizens of Jerusalem or of Judea.

completion of political plans for the restoration of the holy city and Temple.

It is, of course, uncertain at what period of year these intercessions were offered.* It would seem probable that they immediately followed the appointment of Darius as King and the restoration of the idols to their cities; and that the petition to Cyrus for favours—sought first of Jehovah—was made before Cyrus moved his court from the city. As the Hebrews were scattered over the whole area of the Empire—Media and Persia included—it is apparent that any edict issued in conquered Babylon might be interpreted as referring to that Kingdom alone. This was a sufficient reason for delay in issuing it till after Cyrus had returned to his seat of government.

Whatever was the answer of Cyrus to the petitioner—who was most likely Daniel himself—it is certain that the firman conceding it was issued to the Empire from Shushan, to which place Cyrus retired, as the summer residence of the Kings of Persia. The evidence for this lies in the fact that, on their return to Palestine, the Jews placed in a panel of the great east gate—which then stood where the golden gate now stands—a memorial representation of the city Shushan, as the place from which their deliverance came. This evidence is indirectly strengthened by the fact that a copy of the edict of permission—not the firman or proclamation—was after-

* Daniel's prayer is recorded in chap. IX. of his book.

wards found at Ecbatana in Media—search in the archives of Babylon having been found fruitless (Ezra VI. 1, 2).

The Proclamation and the Decree

Two documents were necessary to the granting of the prayer for restoration—one which should refer to those parts of the Empire which lay east of the river, from which the restoration was to be made; the other to refer to that part of the satrapy of Syria beyond-the-river to which they were to remove.

The former of these would necessarily be a royal "proclamation" announcing the King's permission to all Jews who wished to do so to go to Jerusalem in Judah. Two versions of this proclamation are before us. The shorter —probably a fragment of the original—is in 2 Chronicles XXXVI. 23. An expanded edition of it, containing the other, is given in Ezra I. 1–4.* The latter version was probably issued in Babylon by the Jewish hierarchy and Princes, the added words, appealing for contributions, being such as would be appended to it when it was seen that there was reluctance on the part of many to

* The brief but sufficient wording of this characteristically Eastern proclamation may be found in a combination of these two texts. It would then read: "Thus saith Cyrus, King of Persia, All the Kingdoms of the earth hath Jehovah the God of Heaven, given me; and He hath charged me to build Him an house in Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Whoever there is among you, of all His people, the Lord his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem which is in Judah, and build the house of Jehovah the God of Israel, (He is God,) which is in Jerusalem."

undertake the journey. Money contributions from such were therefore solicited (verse 4).

The "decree" which accompanied it was differently worded. It gave orders for the erection of a Temple of a certain size at Jerusalem, the fabric of which was to be made out of the material resources of Syria, this being the meaning of the line, "Let the expenses be given out of the King's house." The decree concluded with an order that the golden and silver vessels of the Temple, then in Babylon, should be taken to Jerusalem and placed in the rebuilt sanctuary.

The original decree, on a parchment roll which was certified by the King's seal, had a curious history. Twenty years later it was found at Achmetha or Ecbatana, now *Hamadan*, in the mountains of Media. This had been the capital city of Media, and it is probable that Cyrus was in residence there, as one of the royal capitals of his vast Empire, when it was signed and sealed (Ezra VI. 1–5).

The fact that the proclamation was issued at Shushan and the decree at Achmetha does not militate against the idea that they were drawn up after conference with some eminent and representative member or members of the Jewish faith. Unless this had been done it would have been impossible for the decree to have correctly given two of the three dimensions of the projected Temple. As it was to be built of materials contributed at the expense of the State, without other than local supervision, it was necessary to put some limit to its size. As is shown in

another chapter of these pages, this was done in harmony with Ezekiel's plans.* These measures could not therefore have been unknown to the King's advisers and secretaries. Who so likely to have been consulted in these matters, even to the wording of the documents themselves, as the aged statesman, who, eminent as a consistent Hebrew patriot, was also one of the three Presidents of the province of Babylon under Darius ?

The two documents under consideration may have been drawn up in Babylon under the eye of Jewish officials, and—as is common in State papers—have been reserved for publication until a later date. The policy which they embodied was that on which Cyrus from the beginning was resolved. A wise, just, and merciful ruler, he determined to reverse the policy which had led to the ruin of Babylonia, by filling her cities, temples, and fields with a hostile priesthood and an unpatriotic population, who would not fight for the Empire. It was, therefore, in accordance with his views of toleration and of having contented subjects and a strong and loyal ally on the Egyptian frontier, that he allowed the Jews to return to their own land. Even here there was no compulsion. Everything was left to individual choice and free action. It is, however, worthy of notice that the full text of the proclamation—as given grammatically—while it names Jehovah as the God of Israel, speaks of Him as but one of a number of national Deities, "He the god which is in Jerusalem."

* See pp. 344, 362.

Appreciations of Cyrus the Great

We have three descriptive characterizations of Cyrus from as many powerful pens. The first is that of Herodotus, who repeats the popular traditions of Cyrus as they were told to him in Babylon about a century after his death, and who, not seldom, makes the mistake of attributing to one reign what belonged to another.

The second is that of Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, which is an historical novel or idealization of what a royal Prince should be.

The third is that of the later Isaiah, who speaks of him as Jehovah's shepherd, and the man of His counsel, to do His will. He allows that Cyrus was not a worshipper of the true God (Isa. xlv. 4, 5), but claims him, nevertheless, as a called and commissioned servant of Jehovah.

Not only did Cyrus issue orders for the restoration of the people and the rebuilding of their Temple, he also decreed that the gold and silver vessels of the former Jewish Temple, then in Babylon, should be at once returned to Jerusalem. This was of a piece with his restoring the idols of the subject and provincial capitals. As the Jews had no images, but clung with passionate devotion to their sacred utensils, it was simple and even-handed justice that these should be returned. The number so sent back was about five thousand, including many objects of little intrinsic value but of hallowed memories. Ezra (v. 14) tells us that these vessels were taken out of the

Temple in Jerusalem, and brought into the Temple at Babylon, both buildings having a similar pre-eminence in their respective cities. He also tells us that they were then taken out of the Temple of Babylon to be sent to Jerusalem.

There was then at Babylon but one great Temple.* It is that E-sagil which was so carefully guarded by Gubaru's soldiers on the Persian occupation of the city. That the Temple in Babylon, rather than the Palace, received this attention is in harmony with Cyrus' policy of honouring the gods of every nationality. He realized that upon doing this, and thus allaying popular discontent, depended the fulfilment of his hopes for a peaceable and successful reign.

We have, happily, two descriptions of the great Temple of Marduk, which was the chief glory of Nebuchadrezzar's reign and of the city of Babylon. One of these is in Herodotus, the other is contained in a cuneiform tablet which was seen and translated by Mr. George Smith at Constantinople, but which has since disappeared. From these descriptions, which mutually supplement one another, we may give a brief description of this vast structure. It is as follows : A great walled court of a rectangular oblong shape, the sides of which faced the cardinal points, was entered by two huge gates. Within the outer enclosure was a second court which opened out

* This is archæologically demonstrable, and is so assumed in the words, "Nebuchadrezzar also carried off the vessels of the house of the Lord to Babylon, and put them in his Temple at Babylon" (2 Chron. xxxvi. 7).

of the first, with four gates, one being in the centre of each of its sides.

Within this interior court was a *ziggurat*, or artificial mountain, consisting of seven stages, built up of sun-dried brick, faced with kiln-dried brick.

The lofty erection of the ziggurat was about 300 feet square and as many high.* On the last or topmost of the stages was the chamber of the god. In it was no image, but only a couch of gold, for the repose of the god when he visited it, with a golden table from which he might eat.

In the centre of the outer great court, open to the sky, stood an altar of sacrifice with large vases filled with water by the side of it, for the purposes of ablution.

Several other similarities with the Temple of Solomon are noted by Dr. Sayce in his lecture on the ritual of Babylonian Temples in No. IX of his Gifford Lectures.† His conclusion is that it was only in the possession of a central tower that the Babylonian Temple differed from that of the Israelites.

The history of the site of E-sagil ‡ goes back to the time of Hammurabi, who, at latest, was a contemporary of Abraham, but the Temple that stood there was completely rebuilt and remodelled

* These proportions are not equalled by those of the similar structure at *Birs-Nimroud*, near Babylon, which had a base of 300 feet square and a height of 150 feet. A drawing of its reconstruction is given in *The Tabernacle* volume, p. 228.

† The title of the volume is *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylon*, by A. H. Sayce, D.D., LL.D.

‡ E-sagil means, in Sumerian, "the house of the high head."

by Nebuchadrezzar, whose proudest boast it was that he had built it, and the Palace adjoining it (Dan. IV. 29, 30).* A great builder, nothing that he had done gave him so much satisfaction as this work.

The likeness to the Solomonic Temple may, I think, be accounted for in another way than by supposing that David had derived ideas for his plan from Babylon. Is not the converse possible? Nebuchadrezzar destroyed the Jerusalem Temple in the eighteenth year of his reign, and reigned for twenty-five years thereafter. We know that he carried the bronze of the Temple, its vessels and its priests, to Babylon. May he not there have conceived the idea of building a house to the glory of Bel-Merodach, which should be similar to, and yet should surpass, that at Jerusalem?

He was particularly anxious to get artisans and mechanics from Judea †—men who may afterwards have been employed on this work. They could supply him with details of the structure of Solomon's Temple, and possibly with the plans themselves. It was already famous throughout the world, and, being destroyed by

* The *Kasr* and the Amran mounds—on the former of which stood Nebuchadrezzar's palace, and on the latter the Temple of Merodach—adjoin one another on the right bank of the Euphrates, to the south of the city. They have a superficies of 104,000 feet, and an average height of 67 feet. Most of these two mounds is enclosed within an irregular triangle containing 8 square miles, formed by two lines of ramparts and the river. It was while walking on the roof of this palace that the events grouped around Dan. IV. 29 took place.

† "He carried away . . . all the craftsmen and the smiths" (2 Kings XXIV. 14).

his orders, it was, in consonance with the practice of those days, fitting that it should be reproduced in the world's capital with still greater magnificence. A *ziggurat*, as at Birs Nimroud, was indispensable to the worship of Marduk. Ruins of these seven-staged edifices appear in the courtyards of several ancient palaces. This, therefore, in the Babylonian structure, took the place of the holy chambers in Jerusalem.

The matter is, of course, incapable of proof, and sentiment will decide as to which of these buildings is the original. That Solomon's Temple was evolved from the Tabernacle in the wilderness is, I think, indisputable. This being so, it could not have been copied from Babylon—the order of whose architecture was wholly different.

However its plans originated, there is one scene in the Temple of Bel-Merodach which will never be effaced from the page of history. It is that in which Belshazzar held his feast and heard his doom. The feast, according to all the evidence before us, would be held in the outer court of the Temple, and during the hours of daylight. There is nothing to show that it was held at night, as imagined in Martin's great picture. It was probably the principal meal of the day, and would be taken in the afternoon, time being thus available for the elevation of Daniel to the position of the third municipal ruler of the city, and also for the issue of the proclamation announcing this to the populace. It was a mere civic elevation, as the Persians were then masters of the city. It led, however, to his appoint-

ment by Darius to a post of honour and emolument.*

The royal palace built by Nebuchadrezzar was then probably occupied by the victorious Cyrus, while the Temple would be left free for the service of the gods with whose worship Cyrus did not interfere. This gave Belshazzar his opportunity. A great religious ceremonial and festival was announced. While it was in progress, and "whiles Belshazzar tasted the wine," he commanded to bring the golden and silver vessels—of which thirty cups of gold and four hundred and ten cups of silver were restored to Jerusalem—that in them he and his lords might finish the feast. The summoning of these sacred vessels to be brought out was an afterthought of the King, and as they were stored in the near-by Temple, there was no difficulty in at once furnishing them.

The indignity offered to them, and to Jehovah through them, was the immediate cause of the writing of the fatal inscription :—

COUNTED! MEASURED! WEIGHED! PERSIANED!

Thus fell the third Babylonian Empire, 538 B.C., having been raised up to accomplish the divine purpose concerning the Jews. It was founded

* It is evident that the foreign ruler, Darius, would need the help of local experience in the government of his huge province. Daniel would be recommended to him by his loyal interpretation of the writing on the wall, which foretold the complete success of the Persian rule. Hence he became one of the three presidents or privy councillors of the King (Dan. VI. 2.).

by Nabopolassar, in a successful revolt against Nineveh.*

II. The Call to Return to Zion

We have no standard to measure the various emotions with which Cyrus' proclamation of toleration was received by the tribes. Those of the sincere lovers of Zion would be feelings of grateful and adoring joy. Words, tears, sighs of relief, could not embody the thoughts which lay too deep for expression. Instantaneous plans would be thought over and devised for such as these to avail themselves of the gracious concession. The pent-up feelings described in Psalm CXXXVII., beginning—

> "By the rivers of Babylon
> There we sat down; yea we wept,
> When we remembered Zion,"

now found sudden revulsion and full expression, as in the words of another Psalm—

> "When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion,
> We were like unto them that dream.
> Then was our mouth filled with laughter,
> And our tongue with singing:
> Then said they among the nations,
> The Lord hath done great things for them.
> The Lord hath done great things for us;
> Whereof we are glad." (Psalm CXXVI. 1–3.)

But there were others, and these the majority, who suspiciously looked upon the issue of the

* It is perhaps worthy of remark that the dynasty to which Nebuchadrezzar belonged lasted just seventy years, its rise dating from twenty years before the era of the captivity and ending twenty years before the Restoration.

proclamation as a remarkable act of clemency on the part of their new sovereign, but one which was to be carefully considered in all its aspects before action was taken upon it. They would weigh the pros and cons. They would see how it would affect themselves and their families. They would note what others did, and then it would be time enough to think of their own plans for the future. It was to influence favourably and decide these multitudinous laggards and waverers that there now took place the writing and circulation of one of the most remarkable literary productions of that or of any age. It was a poem, in three parts, apparently given to the world anonymously. If not anonymous, the heading has been lost, as that of a part of the Book of Zechariah has been lost.* It now appears as the second part of the Book of Isaiah. The frank recognition of this much-disputed point does not affect the authenticity or value of any single word in the poem itself. This stands for all time, as one of the supremest

* The second part of the Book of Zechariah, chap. IX. *et seq.*, is known to be by another hand than his. It was written when members of three Davidic families were living in Jerusalem, i.e. those of the reigning family and those of Nathan and Shimei (Zech. XII. 12–14; 1 Chron. III. 5). Their mourning was for the death of King Josiah, the annual commemoration of which event is referred to in 2 Chron. XXXV. 25. A citation of Zech. XI. 13 is given in Matt. XXVII. 9, and is rightly attributed to "Jeremiah the Prophet." It is thus evident that the original heading or title to the document of the last six chapters of Zechariah is omitted in our Hebrew texts. It was probably the work of Jeremiah, and originally bore the title of "Lamentations," as in 2 Chron. XXXV. 25. The book commonly known by this name is a later composition, which followed the fall of Jerusalem.

efforts of the human intellect—in its class unapproached and unapproachable. The occasion was unique and unprecedented, and the poem grew out of the occasion. It burst—as molten silver—from the fount of a heart aflame with zeal for the glory of God, and full of a noble patriotism for Judah and Jerusalem.

To a mind breathing the historical atmosphere of the days of Cyrus in Babylon there is no evidence on behalf of a second Isaiah so conclusive as is a reading of the poem itself, with this epoch as its background. Putting this document in its right historical setting is like the placing of a microscopic object in its true focus. Let us see, in but a few instances, what exegetical light this chronological setting throws upon the text, and what strength and clearness are given by it to the imagery and appeals of the greatest of all the religious poets of patriotic feeling.

Section I: Isaiah, chapters XL.–XLVIII.—That the first part of this clarion call was written in a land of idols and idol-makers is apparent in its opening lines, where we have a graphic description of the casting of a metal image "spread over with gold"; and then in chapter XLIV. a realistic description of the making of a wooden image. That these were not Israelitish gods is shown in the fact that it was a rule in Babylon that the image-makers were to fast during their labour. This is thus sarcastically referred to—

> He is hungry and his strength faileth;
> He drinketh no water, and is faint.
>
> (Isa. XLIV. 12.)

The poet had, therefore, been a witness of all the processes of image-making, and writes from knowledge at first hand.

There is more than a tacit allusion to the transportation to and from Babylon of the gods of the cities which Nabonidus collected and which Cyrus restored, in the words—

> Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth;*
> Their idols are upon the beasts and upon the cattle:
> The things that ye carried about are made a load,
> A burden to the weary beast.
> They stoop! They bow down together!
> They could not deliver the burden,
> But themselves are gone into captivity.
>
> (Isa. XLVI. 1–2.)

These lines bear the impress of having been written by one who *saw* the camels and the asses, with their tottering loads, as they passed through the streets of Babylon carrying home their enormous and lifeless burdens, after their having been in "captivity."

Throughout these nine chapters the name and character of Cyrus run like golden threads.

* (1) Bel is a proper name, and is not to be confounded with Baal, which means "lord." Bel was the supreme sun-deity of the ancient Nippur. When the power and priesthood of Nippur passed to Babylon its supreme deity was called Bel-Marduk, the Merodach of Jer. L. 2.

(2) The great Temple of Nebo was at Borsippa, about ten miles from Babylon, where its ruins are still to be seen. See *The Tabernacle*, pp. 228–30. There is some reason for thinking that the god Nebo was one of the forms of Marduk, and that all the gods of Babylon were representations of different attributes of the central and sole deity.

He first appears in the promise, "I will give to Jerusalem one that bringeth good tidings."

Cyrus is here the "servant" of Jehovah, who was to bring forth judgment to the Gentiles, to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison house.

The name of Cyrus appears in chapter XLV. as the Lord's anointed, to subdue nations, and to loose the loins of Kings. He is also the ravenous bird from the East.

It would seem to be impossible, with an open mind, to read these chapters and not see in the conqueror of Media, of Lydia, of Babylon, a Messianic type. The very essence of such a prefigurement is that the prototype should be inferior to the antitype. No just comparison can, therefore, be made between the persons of Cyrus and Jesus, or between their characters or the extent of their missions. One of the most famous statues of old was a figure of Hercules not larger than a man's thumb. Thus are small and imperfect human personages used to set forth different aspects of the divine character. The remarkable thing here is that Cyrus the restorer, *who did not know Jehovah* (Isa. XLV. 4, 5), should be used as one of the most elaborate types of Jesus, the Liberator of humanity.

Section II: Isaiah, chapters XLIX.–LVII.—In spite of many attempts to destroy the unity of this poem, the various sections of which close with the same words (Isa. XLVIII. 22; LVII. 21), Bengel's criticism—which is, "These chapters proceed connectedly and sublimely upon 1, Crea-

tion; 2, Redemption; 3, Sanctification"—still stands unrivalled for insight and justness.

We have seen that denunciations of idolatry and the folly and stupidity of idol-makers fill up a large part of the first part—these being opposed to the idea of a supreme and invisible Creator.

The second part—which, like the others, consists of nine chapters—has as its main theme the delights and glories of rescue and salvation. The nation personified—not Cyrus—is here the servant of Jehovah.

> Thou art my servant
> Israel, in whom I will be glorified.
> . . . To raise up the tribes of Jacob,
> And to restore the preserved of Israel.
> (Isa. XLIX. 3, 6.)

The poet does not deny the morally low and lost condition of the exiles, possibly amid much material prosperity. With this condition he has the profoundest sympathy. He sets before them, in affecting terms, their pitiable spiritual and punitive state—without altar, temple, or sacrifice.

Jerusalem had drunk at the hand of the Lord the cup of His fury, and drained the bowl of staggering—"She was drunken, but not with wine." Among her sons was none to guide her, nor any to take her by the hand.

But, deplorable as was her state under the just judgments of Jehovah, the case was not desperate. He had not yet written for her a bill of divorcement, or sold her to one of his creditors. Hope still remained.

Jehovah still had the power to redeem her, and the old relations of loyalty and love might again be established,

> Is my hand shortened at all, that it cannot redeem?
> Or have I no power to deliver? (Isa. L. 2.)

In every variety of literary form the exiled sons and daughters of Jerusalem are appealed to, to recognize existing facts, and to turn themselves to the stronghold for help. The Holy One would yet dwell with those who were of a contrite and humble spirit. Coaxingly, wooingly, the prophet implores his readers to trust in the Lord Jehovah, for in the LORD is everlasting strength and kindness.

One section of this part is addressed to strangers who are not of the house of Israel.* Those aliens who in Babylon had joined themselves to the Lord were not to fear separation from Him by removal to Zion. If they loved the Name of the Lord, to be His servants and to keep His covenant—

> Even them will I bring to my holy mountain,
> And make them joyful in my house of prayer;
> Their burnt offerings and their sacrifices shall be accepted upon mine altar:
> For mine house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples. (Isa. LVI. 7.)

By the victories given to Cyrus and the consequent action of enfranchisement taken by him,

* With the "strangers" are associated those who had undergone a nameless mutilation at the hands of the Babylonians. See the case of Daniel in Chapter I. To them was to be given "in mine house and within my walls," a name better than of sons and of daughters. And to one of them is given the promise of an "everlasting name, that shall not be cut off" (Isa. LVI. 3–5)

Jehovah had made bare His holy arm in the eyes of all the nations, and all the ends of the earth were to see the salvation of God in the restoration to their own land of His chosen and faithful people.

Those of them who elected to depart were to take no unclean thing, i.e. idol, with them. Especially those were to be pure who were to carry the holy vessels of the Temple—

> Be ye clean, ye that bear the vessels of the Lord.*
> For ye shall not go out in haste,
> Neither shall ye go by flight:
> For the Lord will go before you;
> And the God of Israel will be your rearward.
>
> (Isa. LII. 11–12.)

The writer's aim, throughout, was to induce Babylonian Jews to go to Judea, and to assist in the regeneration of Israel. This temporal salvation was to him, though as yet dimly, an emblem and type of that larger salvation which was yet to be wrought for all mankind; and it is in the union and fusion of these two events in the world's history that the glows and glories of the poetry lie, as well as its difficulties of interpretation. Until a firm basis has been laid, in the historical plane, for the underlying facts of the close of the exile, any well-founded spiritual exegesis of any portion of this poem is impossible.

Section III: Isaiah, chapters LVIII.–LXVI.—The appeal had opened with the triumphant

* This instruction could not have been written *before* the issue of the decree authorizing the restoration of the vessels to Jerusalem. Nor could it have been written *after* their arrival at Jerusalem. The act of their restoration by Cyrus is the only event in their long history which admits of such an exhortation as the above.

message, "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God"; and it gives, as the ground of such comfortable words as were to be spoken to Jerusalem, the fact that her iniquity was pardoned, for she has received of the Lord's hand double for all her sins. In its close the writer indulges in a vision of the future, a forecast to be realized if all his brethren of the nation were to come to the holy mountain at Jerusalem, each bringing his offering in a clean vessel into the House of the Lord.

To attain this end he exerts himself to the utmost to show that the one qualification for the attainment of the national hope was the personal obedience of all the members of the family of Jacob.

He begins by showing the hollowness and inefficiency of their past and present service of Jehovah. They excelled in fasting and in all the external trappings of woe and sorrow for sin. Zechariah tells us of the four annual fasts which were kept throughout most of the seventy years' stay in Babylon (Zech. VIII. 19). Being in an impure land no sacrifices were offered, as was also the case in the Egyptian servitude.

The Deutero-Isaiah makes an incisive attack upon these formalities. He declares their true character of Pharisaic selfishness, and anticipates Zechariah in pronouncing them worthless and self-deceptive (Isa. LVIII.; * Zech. VII.). Both

* This chapter deals solely with the two institutions of Jehovism which the exiles in Babylon were able to observe. These were fasting and the observance of the Sabbath. Even one of these was impossible of observance to those in service to Babylonian masters.

prophets demand sincerity in worship and ethical purity of intention in the worshipper. Striking thus at the root of their trusted religiousness, the great moral teacher goes on to denounce the cruelty, the heartlessness, the tyranny, which Jew showed to Jew in their common oppression in Babylon. He demands more than the cessation of this. He asks that, on the foundation of justice and mercy, his readers should rear the fabric of walking humbly with their God, in contrition and penitence. *Then* should their Redeemer come to Zion, unto them that turn from transgression in Jacob. All the many promises that follow this one are conditional upon this prime prerequisite that they went back to Jerusalem in the spirit of repentance, faith, and holiness. The keynote of the whole section is that of personal sanctity, i.e. separation to Jehovah. This is the burden of the singer's song. If this were done the holy city should be called—

> The city of the Lord,
> The Zion of the Holy One of Israel.
> . . . I, the Jehovah, am their Saviour;
> And their Redeemer, the mighty One of Jacob.
> (Isa. LX. 14, 16.)

In the renovated Temple and altar it was promised, though in a sense likely to be misunderstood—

> For brass I will bring gold,
> And for iron I will bring silver,
> And for wood brass,
> And for stone iron.
> (Isa. LX. 14–17.)

In order to appeal to another set of emotions than those of buoyancy and hope, the singer described the present aspect of things in the Holy Land in these words—

> Thy holy people possessed it but a little while:
> Our adversaries have trodden down thy sanctuary.
> (Isa. LXIII. 18.)

And again and more definitely—

> Thy holy cities are become a wilderness,
> Zion is become a wilderness,
> Jerusalem a desolation.
> Our holy and beautiful house,
> Where our fathers praised thee,
> Is burned with fire:
> And all our pleasant things are laid waste.*
> (Isa. LXIV. 10–11.)

Contrasting with this desolation were pictures of the renovated land, when the old wastes should be rebuilt and the former desolations raised up. Strangers, in the future, were to stand and feed their flocks, and aliens to be their plowmen and vine-dressers. Sharon was again to be a pasture of flocks, and the valley of Achor a place for herds of cattle to lie down in, for the people that had sought the Lord. Jerusalem

* With this may be compared the similar utterance of an Exilic psalmist:—

> Lift up thy feet unto the perpetual ruins,
> All the evil that the enemy hath done in the sanctuary.
> . . . Now all the carved work thereof together
> They break down with hatchet and hammers.
> They have set thy sanctuary on fire:
> They have profaned the dwelling-place of thy name even to the ground (Psalm LXXIV. 3, 6).

was to be a place of rejoicing and her people a joy ; in her was to be neither sorrow nor sickness, nor an old man that had not filled his days of a hundred years. Such was the main appeal that was broadcast over the land.

The projected return to Palestine, which the Deutero-Isaiah advocated, was seen to be an enterprise of immense physical difficulties. There would first necessarily be the arranging of caravans for travellers. The members of these would meet on given days at certain points which had been decided upon beforehand. They would then travel, for the most part on foot, up the course of the Tigris or the Euphrates, to some shallow ford at which they could cross the stream by wading. They would, of course, be encumbered with children, servants, chattels, and animals. The rivers crossed, the caravan would move on through the Syrian desert to the Damascus or Palmyra oasis. Here a rest would be indulged in, and the journey resumed on one of the great roads which led either to the pass of Hamath or to the bed of the Jordan below the lake of Gennesaret. The journey, under favourable circumstances, would occupy about a hundred days. During this time the caravans were liable to be attacked by the Bedaween of those days. So imminent was this danger that Ezra tells us, later, that it had occurred to him to ask of Artaxerxes a band of soldiers and horsemen to guard his party from enemies on the road; but that, having told the King that Jehovah was with them, he was

ashamed to do so (Ezra VIII. 22). Still the danger was there, and was known to all the intending emigrants under Zerubbabel. A more serious difficulty than this was the lack of springs of water on the highway. The country, for several hundreds of miles, was a waterless one, with pastures for flocks and herds, available only during a few weeks in the spring of each year.

It could not be but that the minds of all those who thought of returning should revert to the somewhat similar experience of their fathers in the exodus from Egypt. There were then a Moses and a Joshua. Where were their present leaders? There were then the miracles of manna and water from the rock. How could they be assured that these would be repeated or paralleled?

It was to meet these natural fears that the Deutero-Isaiah wrote in the very forefront of his proclamation—

> Prepare ye in the wilderness the way of the Lord,
> Make level in the desert a highway for our God.
> Every valley shall be exalted,
> Every mountain and hill shall be made low:
> And the crooked shall be made straight,
> And the rough places a plain.
>
> (Isa. XL. 3–4.)

And again, to select one passage out of several of similar purport—

> Thus saith the Lord, who made a way in the sea,
> And a path in the mighty waters:
> . . . Behold, I will do a new thing,

. . . I will even make a way in the wilderness:
And rivers in the desert.
. . . To give drink to my people—my chosen,
. . . That they may set forth my praise.
(Isa. XLIII. 16–21.)

With what new sense of appreciation we read the following promise when we remember that it was first addressed to those who had to cross the fords of the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the Jordan, and to undergo the perils of the grass-burning of the desert:—*

When thou passest through the waters,
I will be with thee;
And through the rivers,
They shall not overflow thee:
When thou walkest through the fire,
Thou shalt not be burned:
Neither shall the flame kindle upon thee.
(Isa. XLIII. 2.)

Throughout the whole poem are interspersed encouragements, exhortations, and warnings—with a further selection of which we close this reading of the prophet—

Go forth of Babylon! Flee ye from the Chaldeans!
With the voice of singing declare ye,
Tell this, utter it even to the end of the earth:
Say ye, The Lord hath redeemed his servant Jacob.
(Isa. XLVIII. 20.)

* "In the month of June the grass of the El Hamad desert 'turns white' and is withered" (Blunt's *Bedouins of the Euphrates*, vol. II, p. 165). It was then liable to the ravages of fire, in which whole encampments might be burnt.

Go through, go through the gates:
Prepare ye the way of the people.
Cast up, cast up the highway,
Gather out the stones:
Lift up an ensign for the peoples.
(Isa. LXII. 10.)

And then, in quite another and minatory key, as an address to the waverers, we have these descriptive and threatening lines, as to the choice before them—

Ye that forsake the Lord, that forget my holy mountain,
That prepare a table for Fortune,
And that fill up mingled wine unto Destiny;
I will destine you to the sword,
And ye shall all bow down to the slaughter:
Because when I called ye did not answer;
When I spake ye did not hear;
But ye did that which was evil in mine eyes,
And chose that wherein I delighted not.
(Isa. LXV. 11–12.)

CHAPTER VIII

THE FIRST RETURN: THAT UNDER ZERUBBABEL

THE victories of Cyrus gave the Persian Empire three great capital cities. These were Susa in Elam, which took the place of Persepolis as the capital of Persia, Ecbatana the capital of Media, and Babylon the capital of Mesopotamia. Of these the first was supreme. "Shushan, the palace," * or fortress (Neh. I. 1), was the favourite residence of Cyrus and his successors. Here the tribute of gold from all the provincial governments was collected, and coined into darics,† which were impressed with the rude representation of a royal archer, and were remarkably pure. Here, too, were kept the archives

* This name occurs also in Daniel VIII. 2, but when the prophet says, "I was in Shushan the palace," he means that he was there in vision only, as the context shows.

† The mention of "darics" at this time and earlier is one that requires a brief note of explanation. The name of "daric" is not taken from Darius I, who came to the throne of Persia in 521 B.C., but is derived from the Babylonian *dariku*, a weight or measure, and can be traced to a period before the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus. Hence there is no anomaly of time in the statement that a number of darics were taken to Jerusalem by Zerubbabel in 536 B.C. (Ezra II. 69), or that Ezra himself took twenty bowls of gold there, of the value of a thousand darics (Ezra VIII. 27). The bullion value of these darics, some of which of the age of Darius Hystaspis are known, was one-tenth greater than that of an English sovereign. (Comp. Neh. VII. 71–2; 1 Chron. XXIX. 7; Josephus' *Antiquities*, III. 8, § 10.)

of the Empire, such as were used in the composition of the Book of Esther (Esther I. 2; VI. 1).

Through this vast Empire, or rather through those portions of it in which the Hebrews had been settled or to which they had wandered, the proclamation of Cyrus had to be made known. It was issued in the first year of his reign (Ezra I. 1), and twelve months, at least, must be allowed for the dissemination of the news, and for the necessary preparations for return. This is the period of time which Haman allowed for the news of his proposed massacre of the Jews to circulate (Esther III. 7, 13). Like this cruel edict, the proclamation of Cyrus would be sent by posts into all the King's provinces, sealed with the King's signet. It could not, therefore, have been until the third year of Cyrus, or 536 B.C., that the first return of the Jews from exile took place. This was just seventy years after the deportation of Daniel and his companions.*

The appeal to return, written by the second Isaiah, and disseminated by the heads of the Jewish dispersion, appealed to two classes of exiles. The fall of Samaria had preceded that of Jerusalem by 135 years. The ten tribes had thus been in captivity for nearly two centuries at the close of the seventy years. It is, therefore, not a matter of surprise that, as a body, they

* It is well to remember that Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah were not the sole victims of this earliest captivity. They were its principal and most honourable members, but there were others—how many we know not (Dan. I. 6–7).

refused to avail themselves of Cyrus' permission, or to allow themselves to be influenced by the glowing pictures of the Deutero-Isaiah. In the census taken by Zerubbabel of those who returned with him, the names of the cities or families to which they belonged are carefully noted. No name there can be traced to any Northern town or tribe if we except the 725 children (i.e. citizens) of Lod, Hadid, and Ono * (Ezra II. 33), whose ancestors came from the old territory of Ephraim, and had settled in the Shephelah to the east of Joppa. Some of these are probably referred to in 1 Chronicles IX. 3, as dwellers in Jerusalem "of the children of Ephraim and Manasseh."

The appeal and entreaty to eight of the ten tribes were therefore wholly barren of results. They remained in the land of their adoption, where their descendants are still to be found. As an offshoot of them there is a strong colony of Bokhara Jews near Jerusalem.†

* In 1 Chronicles VIII. 12 the sons of Elpaal, Benjaminites, are said to have built, or rebuilt, Ono and Lod with the towns thereof. It is uncertain as to what period the reference is, but it may be to that of the Restoration.

† (1) Miss A. M. B. Meakin travelled in Central Russia in 1896. Her volume contains a chapter on "Israel in Central Asia," in which she describes the Jewish residents there, who have a number of synagogues in Bokhara and Samarkand (*In Russian Turkestan*, chapter XVII.).

(2) The "Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and dwellers in Mesopotamia" who were in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost (Acts II. 9) were descendants of those Hebrews who had remained in the east after the Babylonish captivities. Tertullian, born A.D. 150, for "Judæa" in the same passage, reads *Armenia*. (See his *Against the Jews*, chapter VII.) There can be little doubt but that "Judæa" is here a clerical error in the *textus receptus*, and that Armenian Hebrews are meant.

When a community has lived for two hundred years scattered amid an alien population, it is evident that it will have lost much of its coherence and national spirit. The claims of occupation, commerce, and social life will have formed bonds of local attachment which it will be impossible to break—except by an overmastering religious conviction. The Northern tribes—individuals excepted—had no such conviction. Under the policy inaugurated by Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and followed by his successors, they had become practical semi-idolaters, in spirit akin to those of Babylon. There was, therefore, nothing in conscience to appeal to, and no other reason why they should leave the rich plains of Mesopotamia for the barren hills of Judea. The clarion call to return, in consequence, fell on deaf ears, so far as the ten tribes were concerned. It would have seemed as unreasonable to them to leave the land of their nativity for the land of their fathers, as it would now seem to the descendants of the Huguenot Protestants who settled in England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, to return to France for purely sentimental and patriotic motives. There was, therefore, almost no response to the proclamation of Cyrus from the Northern tribes.

The case was wholly different with the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. But a single generation had passed since their deportation, and there were still among them old men who could recall the glories of Solomon's Temple (Ezra III. 12), and the good days when, as memory told them,

every man dwelt under his own vine and fig-tree. Superadded to these personal reminiscences were the claims of the true faith of Jehovah. This was the mainspring of their action, and it was in the hope of restoring the ancient faith and the Temple service on its ancient site, that many of them prepared themselves for a second exile. The princes of the Royal Family, the chief of the priests, the Levites, and the loyal heads of Fathers' houses put themselves at the head of the movement. They scattered intelligence, they issued appeals, they sent deputations. They were in communication with Darius the Mede—as representing their patron Cyrus—and they organized the times and places when the caravans for the return were to be made up. A new sense of liberty and nationality inspired the bosoms of the faithful, and hope's golden pinions everywhere displayed themselves.

One of the first things to arrive at, with the Government of the day, was a settlement as to the local head of the new State. As finally settled, an amicable and generous arrangement was come to. The city of Samaria had never fallen into the state of ruin and decay in which Jerusalem had been left. The settlers there had always been under some form of rule, and had been tributaries of Babylon. A satrap or Pasha already resided in Syria. In Persian times this officer was called "The governor beyond the river" (Ezra v. 3, 6; vi. 6; vii. 21; Neh. ii. 7, 9). Under him were two or more

governors of districts, called *Pekhah* or ruler (Ezra v. 14; Haggai i. 1, 14). The Persian equivalent of this Assyrian word is Tirshatha, literally, "Your Reverence" (Ezra ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65, 70).

It must have been with more than satisfaction that Darius agreed to the selection, by the returning Jews, of their own Tirshatha, as this was in accordance with the policy of Cyrus. How grave and yet joyful must those assemblies have been in which the chiefs of the exiled Hebrews met to deliberate on a nomination for this office! The family of Solomon had become extinct by the deaths of Jehoiakim and his son Jeconiah.* Members of two other collateral branches of the Davidic house had been living in Jerusalem at the time of Josiah's death. These were the families of the house of Nathan and that of Shimei (Zech. xii. 12, 13), two of David's eighteen sons (1 Chron. iii. 5). Of these Shimei was the elder, but for some reason unknown to us the representative of the house of Nathan was chosen (Luke iii. 27–31). He was, consequently, appointed the first governor of the reconstituted district of Judea in the Persian province of Syria.

His birth name was Sheshbazzar, the Hebrew equivalent of the Babylonian Shamash-bel-uzur, "O Samas, defend the son," a fact of much significance as showing how far the deported

* The term "sons of Jeconiah" in 1 Chronicles iii. 17 is to be understood in the sense of official successors, and not in that of personal descent. Jeconiah died without issue.

Hebrews of the upper classes had fallen under the spell of the religion of their conquerors.

Attempts have been made to identify Sheshbazzar with the Shenazzar (Sin-[bal]-uzur) of 1 Chronicles III. 18, who was Zerubbabel's uncle; and also other attempts to present Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel as different persons. But it is known that the foundations of the Temple were laid by Zerubbabel, and this is said to have been done by Sheshbazzar, who also brought the Temple vessels from Babylon (Ezra v. 14–16). There is, therefore, no time for any intermediary governor, and it was natural that in a letter written by the Satrap of Syria to Darius, Zerubbabel's Babylonian name should—contemptuously—be used, as is done in the letter of complaint of Ezra v. 6–17. On being appointed Governor of Judea * Sheshbazzar adopted a throne-name, and as Qiru-Babili, "seed of Babylon," became the centre of the restoration movement. Zerubbabel was, doubtless, a personage of great importance to the Jewish community in Mesopotamia, and of still greater hope to the Church in the wilderness. But there is no trace of any idea that the Jews looked upon him as the Messiah. They knew that the Messiah was to be born of the family of David, and in the renewal of their hopes in this direction we can trace the feelings with which they would regard him. The tide

* In Ezra I. 8 Sheshbazzar is termed "Prince of Judah," and in v. 14 "Governor," a title which Haggai in four passages appends to Zerubbabel's name as "Governor of Judah" (Haggai I. 1, 14; II. 2, 21). Zechariah mentions Zerubbabel in a single passage (IV. 6–10), and implies that he held the highest position in Jerusalem.

of disaster and disgrace that had for so many years covered the throne of David had now turned, and in the uncertainties and possibilities of the future the patriotic few found hope and stimulus. The bulk of the nation—many families of the two tribes even—remained untouched by these expectations, and were dead to all the finer issues involved in the grant of national independence, and in the possible restoration to their own land of promise.

According to the number of tribes of Israel, twelve eminent men were chosen to conduct the affairs of the migration. They were not tribal representatives, as may be seen in a list of their names. In the copy made by Ezra (II. 2) the name of Nahamani has dropped out. That in Nehemiah (VII. 7) is complete.

Everything being in readiness, a place was appointed at which the caravans were to be made up. Instructions had been sent out that horses, mules, asses, and camels might accompany the emigrants, but that no cattle, sheep, or goats were to be taken.* The former, being beasts of burden, were serviceable in carrying women and children, as well as food, cooking utensils, and other impedimenta.

As the emigrants arrived at the starting-place they would be sent off, in batches of, say, not

* In 1878 Sir Wilfrid and Lady Anne Blunt traversed the district between Baghdad and Beyrout on horses. They say that in the months of February and March "the upper portion of the Syrian or Hamad desert is a vast undulating plain of grass and flowers," "not unlike the great rolling downs of Wiltshire, where unploughed" (*The Bedouins of the Euphrates*, vol. II, pp. 165–7).

less than a thousand. Fifty such caravans may have followed each other, as, if larger than this, their numbers would make them unmanageable. Some weeks would be occupied in these novel arrangements. As candidates arrived from the mountains of Elam and other distant parts of the Empire, they would be hurried off, lest the food-supply should run short. The journey was perforce performed afoot—a circumstance that appalled some, and hindered more, from attempting it. Very few children or aged persons could be taken. Zechariah, a prophet of the Restoration, himself a returned exile, subsequently noticed the absence of children, as well as that of old people, in the streets of Jerusalem, and hopefully foretold—

There shall yet old men and old women sit in the streets of Jerusalem;
Every man with his staff in his hand for very age.
And the streets of the city shall be full of boys and girls,
Playing in the streets thereof.
(Zech. VIII. 4, 5.)

The contents of Psalm CXXVII. show that it belongs to this period of Hebrew history. The passionate desire for a numerous progeny—which is its main theme—the expression of faith in Jehovah while building His Temple, the reference to the unprotected state of Jerusalem, and the controversies going on with their enemies in the gate of the city, all show that it is a post-exilic production of the Restoration time.

When we compare the number of beasts of

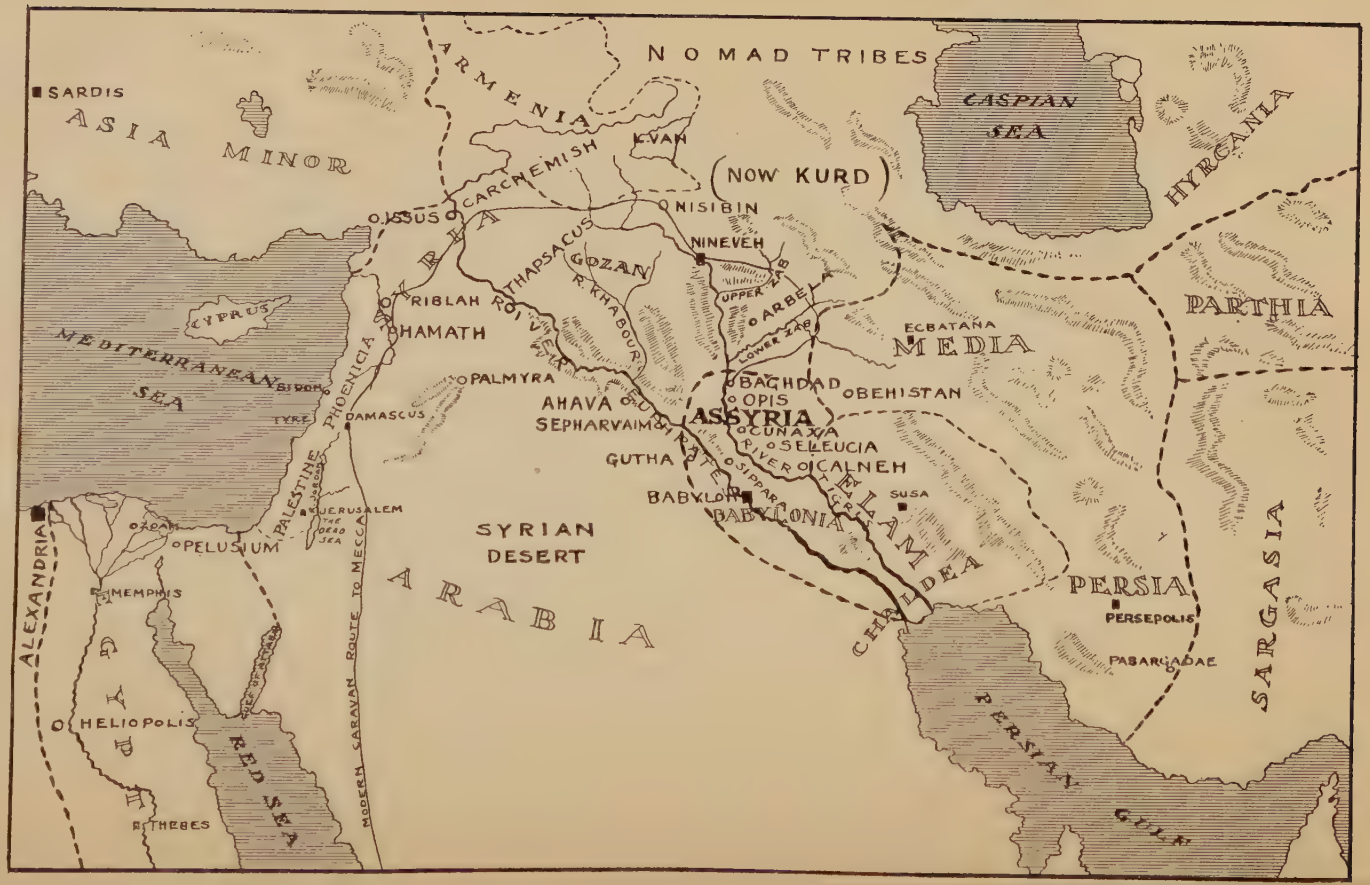
burden with that of the souls who ventured on the long and difficult migration, we can see how miserably equipped the travellers were for their journey. The total number of animals that arrived in Jerusalem is recorded in Ezra II. 66, 67. The numbers give one ass to every eight persons, one horse to every sixty-seven persons, one camel to every hundred and twelve persons, and one mule to every two hundred persons, or an average of one beast of burden, in most cases a donkey, to every six persons. The caravans were made up, for the most part, of young men and women, who were at an adventurous age, and had in their breasts some tincture of romance, religion, and patriotism. This was the "holy seed" which Isaiah had compared to the sproutings from the root of a tree which had been felled (Isa. VI. 13).

Among the volunteers for the repopulation of Jerusalem were several members of the Davidic families, besides Zerubbabel. Others returned later with Ezra. The names of both groups of royal settlers are given in I Chronicles III. 19–24. Among them is Shemaiah, the son of Shecaniah, who helped to repair the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. III. 29), and Hattush, a grandson of the same Shecaniah, who returned with Ezra from Babylon (Ezra VIII. 2, 3).*

We cannot say how many of these thirty or forty scions of a departed dynasty accompanied Zerubbabel, and how many Ezra.† The fact

* For an amended punctuation of this passage, see p. 191.

† See further on this subject, *Solomon's Temple*, pp. 19–21.


SARDIS
ASIA MINOR
ARMENIA
NOMAD TRIBES
CASPIAN SEA
HYRCANIA
(NOW KURD)
LAKE VAN
CARCHEMISH
NISIBIN
ISSUS
NINEVEH
GOZAN
R. THAPSACUS
R. KHABOUR
UPPER ZAB
ARBELA
LOWER ZAB
PARTHIA
CYPRUS
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
RIBLAH
HAMATH
PHOENICIA
ECBATANA
MEDIA
BIBLOS
PALMYRA
BAGHDAD
OPIS
BEHISTAN
TYRE
DAMASCUS
AHAVA
SEPHARVAIM
ASSYRIA
CUNAXA
SELEUCIA
EUPHRATES
RIVER
CALNEH
GUTHA
TIGRIS
SUSA
BABYLON
BABYLONIA
ELAM
SYRIAN DESERT
ARABIA
CHALDEA
PERSIA
PERSEPOLIS
PASARGADAE
SARGASIA
ALEXANDRIA
PELUSIUM
PALESTINE
JERUSALEM
THE DEAD SEA
MEMPHIS
EGYPT
HELIOPOLIS
RED SEA
THEBES
MODERN CARAVAN ROUTE TO MECCA
PERSIAN GULF

that the Persians had so far recognized the rights of their royal family as to make Zerubbabel Governor of Judah would be a strong inducement to others of his kin to accompany him, or to follow him in after years.

The accompanying map of the Persian Empire shows the modern caravan route between Baghdad and Mecca. It is improbable that the returning exiles travelled by this route, as all the literature of the time points to their having crossed the Syrian desert.

When all the caravans had arrived at Jerusalem, the Prince of Judah, now Governor of Judea, ordered a careful census to be taken of those who had arrived. The parchment skins on which this census was written are the only official document which we can trace to the days of the new authority. It was discovered by Ezra when he came to Jerusalem, and forms the second chapter of his book. Not knowing that he had copied it, or still careful for its preservation, Nehemiah, who succeeded Ezra as Governor of Jerusalem, tells us that he " found the book of the genealogy of them which came up at the first," all of whom had then passed away, which he, a second time, copied into his journal. It now forms the sixth and following verses of Nehemiah's seventh chapter.

We thus have a double record of this ancient register. These do not accord in every particular, that of Ezra being the earlier and more correct copy. Both copies state that the number of pilgrims who returned with Zerubbabel was

42,360; but the items in Ezra amount to only 29,818, and those in Nehemiah to 31,089. While we have no means of adjusting this difference of 1271 between the constituent figures,* there is a simple explanation of the fact that each of them is some 12,000 below the identical totals given of them.

It is this. Only males above twenty years of age were counted in all Hebrew censuses from the days of Moses onward (Num. I. 2, 3). Ezra tells us he proceeded on this plan (Ezra VIII. 3). Of returned exiles, the men of adult age numbered some 30,000 in Zerubbabel's little province. The remaining twelve thousand consisted of women and children, and as "living souls" are included in the total of those who returned to Jerusalem, though not specified as to their families or connections. These would necessarily be those of their fathers, husbands, or brothers.

If to these 42,360 we add the number of 7337 bond-servants and 200 singing men and women, not Temple singers, who were probably proselytes from heathenism, we have a total of 50,000 souls, less 103, with which the new Judaism began its career.

The disparity in the numbers of the sexes was

* Ezra's copy was not made till three-quarters of a century after the taking of the register. Nehemiah followed him thirteen years later, when the original may have become partly defaced from neglect. Nehemiah's statement that he "found" the document seems to indicate that it had not been properly cared for. The attempt to supply illegible figures would account for the variations in the text. An obvious error, arising from this source, is contained in the statement that the men of Azgad were 1222 in Ezra and 2322 in Nehemiah. Of the difference of 1271 in the totals of the two records, 1100 are thus accounted for.

here—as it is wherever it exists—an enormous evil, and one productive of far-reaching results. When we have but an average of twelve women and children to thirty men (which is the proportion, in thousands), it must be apparent that great social problems will arise, and will not wait for a solution. Of these problems the after history is full. It is not to be understood that the many cases of marrying "strange women," which so troubled both Ezra and Nehemiah, referred to men who had brought their Babylonian wives with them. No! They were cases in which young men who had come from Babylon had married women of the country—Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Samaritans, and women of Ashdod* (Ezra IX. 1, 2; Neh. XIII. 23). Ezra's committee of investigation in Jerusalem on this subject discovered 113 such cases, of which four were in the High Priest's family. Others of the 113 were, of priests 13, of Levites 10, of Benjamin 15, of Judah and the rest of the tribes 71 (Ezra X. 18–44). Even the High Priest Eliashib had married his grandson to a daughter of Sanballat, the Persian Governor-General of Syria, who lived in Samaria, and whose name, meaning "the moon-god gives life," proclaims him to have been descended from one of the Babylonian families settled in Samaria (Neh. II. 9, 10; XIII. 28).

One consequence of these mixed marriages was that the children of such marriages "could not speak in the Jews' language" (Neh. XIII. 24),

* See note on mixed marriages, p. 140.

and thus lost their hold on the Tôrah of Moses, and could not understand the teachings of the prophets. Another evil was that the influence of the mothers was hostile to the patriotic sentiment upon which the little State was built. Tobiah the Ammonite, himself a son-in-law of a prominent Hebrew, and father-in-law of Meshullam, the son of Berechiah (Neh. VI. 18), one of the earliest repairers of the city walls (Neh. III. 4), was kept informed of all that took place in Jerusalem, and had a strong party there, "sworn unto him," though he was known to be one of the bitterest enemies of Jerusalem (Neh. VI. 17–19).

We have now had before us two facts of surpassing importance in their bearing upon the new Jerusalem of the Restoration. One, that not more than one in five, probably not more than one in ten or twelve, of the expatriated Hebrews responded to the call to return, and "go up" to Judea. With this small result, the whole scheme of Ezekiel for a renewed national life, in which the land of their fathers should be filled with the sons of promise, fell to the ground. The new city to the south of the Temple could not be built. The sacred territory could not be allocated to the priests and Levites. Large tracts of Northern and Southern Palestine could not be reoccupied, but must remain in the hands of the Samaritans and the Edomites. The other, that the paucity of women among the restored threw the faithful few largely into the arms of alien strangers, and that a great admixture of

foreign blood and foreign influence at once made itself felt in the councils and homes of the redeemed. The consequence of these fundamental conditions of life in Judea in the fifth century B.C. will become more and more apparent as we proceed. Controllingly evil as they were, they were made more effective for wrong by the often unwise legislation that followed. Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah were good men and true, but they were human, and could not disengage themselves from those limitations and legislative errors which, in all ages of history, have marred the best work of the best men.

The first return of the Jews under Zerubbabel may now be looked upon as complete. Those "that returned unto Jerusalem and Judah *went* every one unto his city" (Ezra II. 1). Zerubbabel's record is: "So the priests and the Levites, and some of the people, and the singers and the porters and the Nethinim, dwelt in their cities" (Ezra II. 70; Neh. VII. 73). The "*some of the people*" here is significant. It means that difficulties had arisen with the occupiers of lands and houses, who refused to surrender them to the newcomers, and that, in some cases, the authority of the Governor was not sufficient to displace them. The vinedressers and husbandmen (2 Kings XXV. 12) who had been left by Nebuzaradan on the fall of Jerusalem would naturally claim as their own the land which they had cultivated for fifty years, and would base their claim upon the fact of its gift to them by the King of Babylon's agent. It was not until

the great covenant, afterwards made by Nehemiah and Ezra, that the local "seed of Israel" (Neh. IX. 2) joined with them of the captivity in an act of joint worship. Till then, jealousy, feuds, and altercations must have taken place with those newcomers who now claimed as their own the hereditary patrimony of their fathers. Truly the ethnological and patrimonial difficulties of the Restoration were many and great!

NOTE

ON MIXED MARRIAGES

To the list of nationalities given on page 137 of women married by the young men of the return must be added Canaanites, Hittites, Perizzites, Jebusites, Egyptians and Amorites (Ezra IX. 1). The adoption of members of these various cults, eleven in all, into the homes of those redeemed from Babylon was a contingency unforeseen by Ezekiel, and did not enter into his scheme for the resettlement of the country. Such marriages were not contemplated as possible by him, as they would have been impossible in the days in which he lived. The aliens of whom he spoke (see p. 70) as being in the future to be allowed to live in the land were considered as proselytes to the true faith, and marriages with proselytes were at all times rare in Jewish history.

NOTE

ON THE NUMBERS AND TRIBAL AFFINITIES OF THE RETURNED SETTLERS

It may be of interest to see, from a more minute examination of the text, how the total of 29,818 male adults reported by Ezra was made up. The laity of the tribe of Judah are given first on the register of totals. These are given, not in their geographical order, but in parties which had a geographical or a kindred basis. Seventeen such parties are named, each under its chosen leader or head.*

The first of these, under Parosh, were probably ex-residents of Jerusalem, and numbered over two thousand. "The children of Pahath-Moab" (i.e. ruler of Moab) numbered nearly three thousand. From the record of "ancient things" in 1 Chronicles IV. 22 we learn that at some time during the reign of the Kings of Judah a party of Judahites had dominion in Moab, and "they returned to Bethlehem," for such is the meaning (if the reading is changed) of the word Jashubi-lehem.† Of the other fifteen parties no local information can be gained. That they were members of the tribe of Judah, to the number in all of 15,509, is all that remains to us, though even this is not clearly stated. It is, however, the only inference possible from the text, and gains strength from the fact that when Ezra returned, seventy years after Zerubbabel, he brought with him over eight hundred Judahite males, who

* The seventeen "chiefs of the people," corresponding to these parties, sealed the great covenant in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. X. 14–19), where we should read "Ater of Hezekiah"—as in Nehemiah VII. 21—instead of "Ater, Hezekiah." The names given are, in some cases, official and not personal ones.

† The return of these men to Bethlehem may account for the fact that the other citizens of Bethlehem (123) are reckoned to Benjamin, though the town belonged to Judah.

ranged themselves under nine of these seventeen heads of parties. The tribe of Judah thus contributed more than sixteen thousand settlers to the number of those who re-founded Jerusalem, not including their women and children.

The settlers of the tribe of Benjamin follow in the register of totals. These are given according to their cities,* and thus afford valuable information, of a geographical kind, as to the distribution of the new population.

First come the two ex-royal cities, Gibeon and Bethlehem, though the latter lay in the territory of Judah. Nehemiah includes the men of Netophah with those of Bethlehem, though Ezra gives them separately. This is conclusive as to the fact that the villages of the Netophathites were near Bethlehem. Another topographical light to be obtained from this list is that Kiriath-Arim was the ancient Gibeonite town, now *Kuriet el-Enab*, and not the better-known *Kirjath-Jearim*, as is proved by a comparison of Joshua IX. 17 and Ezra II. 25.

The villages of Lod, Hadid, and Ono supplied 725 male settlers. These small towns lay in the valley of craftsmen, Ge-harashim, to the east of Joppa (1 Chron. IV. 14), and once belonged to the territory of the northern tribes. They are the children of Ephraim and Manasseh, some of whom dwelt in Jerusalem (1 Chron. IX. 3), and seem to have been the sole contribution which the ten tribes made to the settlement.

The largest single number contributed by any leader or place to the grand total was 3630, who are said to have been "The children of Senaah." The word *senaah* means "thorn-hedge," and by its use here it is meant to be understood that this contingent of returned exiles were landless and homeless. They may have belonged to various tribes—some of them were probably Rechabites, the Mishna (*Taanath* IV. 5) giving the date for the furnishing of wood for the altar by the family of Jonadab the Rechabite as the seventh of Ab, yearly—and

* Of these sixteen are named, beside the three Ephraimite towns of Lod, Hadid, and Ono. The hedge-dwellers, or sons of Senaah, also had their chiefs. At the time that Nehemiah made his great covenant twenty-six "chiefs of the people," other than those belonging to Judah, sealed it with their official or personal names (Neh. X. 20–27).

are appropriately placed last on the list.* They built the fish gate in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. III. 3).

The following is a tabular statement of the 29,818 male adults who returned from Babylon under the auspices of Zerubbabel and Joshua the High Priest; and of the 1754 who accompanied Ezra more than half a century later.

* Professor G. A. Smith suggests that Senaah was in the Jordan Valley, five miles north of Jericho. His reference is to a place, Megdalsenna, mentioned in the *Onomasticon*. It would seem more probable that this name was afterwards compounded of Migdel and Senaah from a settlement there of these hedge-dwellers. (Cf. *Hist. Geo. of the Holy Land*, p. 252.)

TABLE OF ZERUBBABEL'S AND EZRA'S COMPANIES OF SETTLERS

I. Of Judah and Jerusalem

	536 B.C.		458 B.C.			
	Leaders or Parties.					
1.	Parosh*	2172	150	others returned with Ezra†		
2.	Shephatiah ..	372	80	,,	,,	,,
3.	Arah	775				
4.	Pahath-Moab* ..	2812	200	,,	,,	,,
5.	Elam	1254	70	,,	,,	,,
6.	Zattu	945				
7.	Zaccai	760				
8.	Bani (1 Chron. IX. 4)	642				
9.	Bebai	623	28	,,	,,	,,
10.	Azgad	1222	110	,,	,,	,,
11.	Adonikam	666	60	,,	,,	,,
12.	Bigvai	2056	70	,,	,,	,,
13.	Adin*	454	50	,,	,,	,,
14.	Ater of Hezekiah ..	98				
15.	Bezai	323				
16.	Jorah or Hariph ..	112				
17.	Hashum	223				
	Of Judah, total	15,509		Of Judah, total		818

* The three families of Parosh, Pahath-Moab, and Adin are said in the Mishna to have been of the tribe of Judah (*Taanath* IV. 5).

† The fact that nine of the seventeen names used as those of leaders or parties by Zerubbabel reappear fifty years later in the train of Ezra's following shows that they were not incidental and personal appellatives, but were divisions of the people, probably made when they went into captivity. In VIII. 3–14, Ezra gives the personal names of the leaders of all the parties that accompanied him.

II. Of Benjamin

	536 B.C.	458 B.C.
Leaders or Parties.		
1. Gibbar or Gibeon..	95	
2. Bethlehem.. ..	123	
3. Netophah	56	
4. Anathoth	128	
5. Azmaveth	42	
6. Kiriath-arim Chefireh and Beeroth	743	
7. Ramah and Geba..	621	
8. Michmas	122	
9. Bethel and Ai ..	223	
10. Nebo	52	
11. Magbish	156	
12. The other Elam*..	1254	
13. Harim	320	
14. Jerico	345	
Laity of Benjamin Totals ..	4280	678

Note.

Members of the Tribe of Benjamin who accompanied Ezra to Jerusalem were these :—

With Shecaniah ..	300
,, Joab	218
,, Shelomith ..	160

Laity. Grand total of immigrants for Judah and Benjamin, 21,285.

III. Ephraim and Manasseh.

Of Lod, Hadid, and Ono .. 725

IV. The Hedge-dwellers.

Sons of Senaah 3630

* It is certainly a suspicious circumstance that the first Elam is included in Judah, the second in Benjamin, and that both should contribute exactly the same number of male settlers—1254.

As Elam was a place, and not the proper name of a man, and means part of Persia, the settlers coming from it may have been equally divided between the two tribes. If this were done, it would give the number of Jews returning from Elam or Persia as 2508. This is not an improbable number when we consider the figures of the Book of Esther.

Leaders or Parties.	536 B.C.	458 B.C.
V. Priests.		
1. Of the course of Jediah	973	
2. ,, ,, ,, Immer	1052	
3. ,, ,, ,, Pashur	1247	
4. ,, ,, ,, Harim	1017	
Total number of priests	4289	
VI. Levites of the Sanctuary.		
Of the courses of Joshua and Kadmiel	74	
VII. Levitical Singers.		
Of the children of Asaph	128	
VIII. Levitical Porters or Gate-Keepers.		
Of six different courses	139	
	341	
IX. Temple Servants.		
Of Nethinim and Solomon's servants	392	
X. Uncertain.		
Unable to show their pedigree	652	
Grand total, 536 B.C.	29,818	
Note. A number of priests, Levites, and Nethinim accompanied Ezra. The number of priests is not given. Of the others, the totals are as follows :—		
Levites		38
Nethinim		220
		258
Grand total, 485 B.C.		1754

The number of male adults in both migrations was 31,572. These were, probably, considerably more than one-fourth of the whole immigrant population from Babylon, as comparatively few women and children accompanied them. In a normal condition of society there are as many souls above as below the age of twenty, and, of course, about as many women as men. For the actual number of women and children that accompanied Zerubbabel, see *ante*, pp. 136–7.

CHAPTER IX

THE BUILDING OF THE SECOND TEMPLE

WHEN Cyrus, in accordance with his settled policy of reversing the action of Nabonidus, announced that the God of Judah had commanded him to build a Temple in Jerusalem, and that the material expense thereof was to be borne by the King's domain, it is evident that the work of building was to be done by the returned Hebrews. This was the reason given for their emancipation. Those only who intended to assist in this work, directly or indirectly, were free to go. Let such as choose "go up," said he, "and build the house of the Lord God of Israel which is in Jerusalem." They were, therefore, not to be paid out of the Imperial Exchequer for their labour, the clause in the decree as to the expenses being given out of the King's house, referring solely to the materials for the structure, which were to be given without being paid for, as is evident from the contents of Ezra III. 7,* from which we learn the masons,

* "They"—that is, Joshua, Zerubbabel, and the priests referred to in Ezra III. 2—"gave money also unto the masons, and to the carpenters; and meat, and drink, and oil, unto them of Zidon, and to them of Tyre, to bring cedar trees from Lebanon to the sea, unto Joppa, according to the grant that they had from Cyrus, King of Persia" (Ezra III. 7).

carpenters, and woodcutters were paid by the Jewish authorities. A clear understanding upon this point is requisite to a comprehension of the difficulties which subsequently arose as to the completion of the building. It was, then, in these circumstances and upon these conditions that the return took place. All moneys spent on building operations in Jerusalem were to be raised locally. And no levy for imperial purposes seems to have been made on the repatriated Hebrews at this early stage.

Arrived at Jerusalem, early in the year 536, the men of the captivity began to settle themselves in their cities. Some months were spent in doing this, and in the adjustment of the many genealogical and topographical difficulties that arose. This partially done, the serious work of the mission began. The first step taken was to make a money collection for the great work they were about to undertake. Various items had already been contributed by those sympathizers who, from age or other causes, had found themselves unable to leave Babylonia. To this sum the chiefs of the Fathers now in Jerusalem added their contributions. Zerubbabel headed the lists by giving 1000 darics of gold, 50 basins of gold, 500 manehs of silver,* and 30 priestly garments.

* (1) In the text of Nehemiah VII. 70 there is an omission of the words "pounds of silver," which have dropped out of the text. (See Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible; art.* Nehemiah.)

(2) In the revised text of Ezra II. 69 and Nehemiah VII. 71 "pound" is given as the equivalent of maneh. This is justified by the fact that the Babylonian weights discovered by Layard furnish a maneh of somewhat more than 16 oz. Troy, or nearly 18 oz. avoirdupois. (Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 601.)

As the Tirshatha he had a regular salary of about 1200 shekels a month from the taxation of his people (Neh. v. 14–18). Hence large gifts of this nature lay within his competence. He had also the incentive that, as the first Jewish Governor sent to build the Temple, his honour and his position were pledged to get the work accomplished.

His example was followed by others. The various chiefs of the Fathers contributed, and, when their gifts were counted, the total was found to be 20,000 darics of gold, and 2200 manehs of silver. The people then added their smaller contributions, which amounted to another 20,000 darics of gold, 2000 manehs of silver, and 67 priests' garments. These particulars are taken from Nehemiah. Ezra gives the three totals—approximately only—as being 61,000 darics of gold,* 5000 manehs of silver, and 100 priests' garments, the extra 20,000 darics and 500 manehs here included being, possibly, the sums already contributed by the Jews of Mesopotamia.

The month of September was the month of the Sanctuary (Tisri), when the great autumn festival of Harvest-home was held, the people living in booths the while. "As one man" they gathered in Jerusalem, on the first day of the seventh month in the year of their return, and built the altar of Jehovah on its old site.†

* 61,000 darics of gold were equal in bullion-weight to 67,100 sovereigns.

† Ewald's rendering of the text of Ezra III. 3 has reason and probability on its side: "They set up the altar upon its bases, which they were able to do, for there was a fear felt toward them on the part of the people of the country."

On this day they renewed the daily sacrifice to Jehovah, and began to reinstitute the whole cycle of fasts and festivals which belonged to the Mosaic system. The tenth day of this month was the great day of Atonement, which was followed by the feast of Tabernacles. These ceremonial relics of a bygone age being observed, so far as was possible, around the newly-made altar, steps were taken to proceed with the great work upon which the charter of their liberties hung—the re-erection of the Temple.

A sum of money was put aside out of that which had been collected, in order to pay masons and labourers for the cutting of great blocks of malaki out of the royal quarries in Jerusalem, with which to lay the foundation or platform of the Temple. Another amount was sanctioned to be spent in bringing cedar logs on rafts from Lebanon by sea to Joppa. All this was accomplished during the first year after the arrival of the caravans at Jerusalem, and the work was courageously begun.

In the second month of the second year of the return an assembly was held at Jerusalem, presided over by the Governor and the High Priest, the object of which was to take some practical steps toward the rebuilding of the Temple itself. The plans, of course, were before them, in Ezekiel's manuscripts and its accompanying drawings.* The next step was to carry

* It was the inspection of these drawings that caused the weeping of the old men who had seen "the first house standing on its foundation, when this house was before their eyes" (Ezra III. 12, margin). What appears to have caused their vexation and disappointment was

out these plans in their entirety. With a capital fund of less than £100,000 in hand, the utmost rigour of economy would have to be used if the work was to be completed—even though the raw material was the gift of the King.

There were certain Temple servitors to the number of 392, some of whom are known in the records as Nethinim,* together with others known as the children of Solomon's servants, being the descendants of those aliens whom Solomon had reduced to servitude at the time of the erection of the first Temple (1 Kings IX. 20, 21 ; 1 Chron. XXII. 2). These, as being dedicated to the service of Jehovah, would be used as labourers in the work. Above them were placed the 341 Levites, who were superior workmen, and had the oversight of the work. Chief among these was a certain Jeshua, who is to be distinguished from the High Priest of the same age and name. With him were associated Binnui, of the sons of Henadad, and Kadmiel, of the sons of Hodaviah,† these being the heads of the senior guild into which the inferior clergy of the Temple were divided.‡ There were thus some 733 persons employed in the work of uprearing the second Temple at

the fact that the height of the tower or porch before the Temple was but half the height of that of Solomon, or 60 cubits instead of 120. For this see pp. 296, 362.

* Ezra describes the Nethinim as persons "whom David and the Princes had given for the service of the Levites" (Ezra VIII. 20).

† Comp. Ezra II. 40 and III. 9 ; Neh. X. 9.

‡ All the Levites above twenty years of age were employed in the work of building the Temple (Ezra III. 8). None under this age were counted in the census.

the inception of the work, all of whom received their support from their manual labour in the sacred work of rebuilding a dwelling-place for Jehovah.

A large amount of preparatory work had to be done in clearing away the refuse of the Temple burnt by Nebuzaradan, in levelling the ground by placing blocks of white malaki, where necessary, on the western slope of the Temple site, so as to give a fair surface for the "foundation,"* and in cutting and bringing to the ground from the royal quarries† other blocks of the height of $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet or 6 cubits, with which to form the broad base or platform of the Temple. The ceremony of laying the first of these foundation stones was treated as one of great dignity and importance. The old order of service of David, King of Israel, was followed as far as possible, i.e. the order devised by him for the building of Solomon's Temple. The returned priests were all present, in white apparel—some of whom blew silver trumpets. The singers of old time, the sons of Asaph, were there, and they sang in antiphon—"one to another"—the Hebrew Te Deum, known to us as Psalm CXXXVI., the Great Hallel of the Jewish

* It is improbable that these sub-structural blocks of stone had been removed since they were laid by Solomon. The height to which they had been built up on the western side was some 30 feet. They are possibly still in place. See the volume on *Solomon's Temple*, pp. 248–9, 342.

† These lay to the immediate north-west of the Temple area, the present entrance to them being somewhat higher than the level of Moriah. During his life David had employed alien masons to hew wrought stones here with which to build the Temple after his death (1 Chron. XXII. 2).

Rabbis. It had been sung at the opening of the first Temple (2 Chron. v. 13; VII. 3); by Jehoshaphat's victorious soldiers (2 Chron. XX. 21); and at all times of high festival in Jerusalem (Jer. XXXIII. 10, 11). It was now again sung, with a new and strange fervour. Tears of joy, mingled with those of regret, coursed down the cheeks of the Fathers in Israel as they chanted the familiar refrain—

> O give thanks unto the Lord; for he is good:
> For his mercy endureth for ever.
> (Ezra III. 11).

As they thus wept and sang together, the first great stones * were placed in position, and the foundation of the house began to be laid before their eyes. The first act in this great drama of religious enthusiasm was thus consummated, and the hopes of the nascent nation rose high for the future.

The work so auspiciously begun continued for a time, when a step was taken which marred its ultimate usefulness, and led to endless complications and delays. The moment had come which was to test the wisdom of the heads of the party of reform, a time which was to add fresh laurels to their brow, or to dim and wither those already there.

The Samaritans had heard of the public rejoicings in Jerusalem, and, with their Governor,

* The geologist, Sir J. W. Dawson, from personal examination on the spot, reports that "*Malaki* is compact in quality and durable, yet easily worked. It is not an actual chalk, but is really a very finely-grained white marble" (*Egypt and Syria*, p. 92).

had sought a formal interview with Zerubbabel and his counsellors, in which they, truly, stated that they had sacrificed to Jehovah since the days of Esarhaddon (2 Kings XVII. 28 ff.). They now proposed that they should be allowed to assist in the building of the Temple as their future place of sacrifice and worship, and that they should thus be allowed to form a part of the true Israel of God. Instead of obtaining from them a guarantee of the abandonment of idolatry as a part of the proposed convention, their offer of assistance met with a prompt and decisive refusal, at the hands of the Church and State authorities. This decision was arrived at in the teeth of Ezekiel's injunction that the people of the land were to be taken into the new fabric of the State on the same terms as Israelites (Ezek. XLVII. 22, 23), and of the Deutero-Isaiah's promise that the Lord God, who gathered the outcasts of Israel, would gather others to Him, i.e. strangers, besides His own that were gathered (Isa. LVI. 6–8). To this fanatical decision and refusal may be traced many of the innumerable difficulties which afterwards arose. It resulted, further, in the erection of a rival temple on Mount Gerizim, and in the complete alienation of the dwellers in Mid-Palestine, so that in the time of Christ the Jews had no dealings and no speech with the Samaritans. Few judicial decisions have had so grave and far-reaching an influence in the history of religion as Zerubbabel's resolution not to admit to the Temple-worship the mongrel-peoples that dwelt beside and around the

grave of Joseph and the well of Jacob. We have but to recall the ministry to the woman of Samaria, to her fellow-citizens, and to their descendants, by Jesus and by the Apostles, to see how far from the spirit of Jehovism was the narrow Pharisaism which animated the elders of the Restoration. Of their sincerity of purpose there can be no doubt, a mistaken sincerity, the spirit of which even John the Baptist rebuked when he said, "God is able of these stones to raise up children to Abraham." And yet there was, on the part of the proposers, no question of claiming equality of birth or of privilege with the chosen people. The Jews might still have kept untainted their genealogies and their priesthood. In the summary settlement of this great question the political and religious hierarchy did not, for one moment, consider the great missionary purport of the Church, though the writings of their prophets were full of anticipations of the time when the Gentiles should come to the rising of Zion's brightness, and Jehovah should be King of the whole earth. No! all else was forgotten, thrown away, repudiated, so that the stock of Abraham should be free of contamination from alien contact. A bitter awakening was in store for them. The Samaritans, stung to fury by their curt reception, became from that moment the uncompromising and persistent enemies of the little State then struggling to obtain a foothold in the uplands of Judea and on the barren hills of Benjamin.

In narrating the events of the bygone genera-

tion with whom this momentous decision had lain, Ezra speaks of the Samaritan residents as "the peoples of the land," and as "the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin" (Ezra IV. 1, 4); and adds the substance of the information that for the thirteen years which intervened between the laying of the foundation of the Temple early in 535, and the accession of Darius Hystaspis in 522 B.C., the Samaritans left no stone unturned to prevent the realization of the settlers' hopes in the rebuilding of the Temple. He details their movements, which were to weaken the hands of the people of Judah by discouraging words, by terrifying threats, and to frustrate their purpose by malign influence at the courts of Babylon and Shushan. For this last purpose they hired counsellors against them, who used court influence to obtain the revocation of the edict of Cyrus.* This was done during the last years of Cyrus, and through the reigns of Cambyses and Bardes, but was unsuccessful, the laws of the Medes and Persians, operative in Babylon, not allowing of alteration.

If, however, authority was invoked in vain to stay the work of building, the spirit of the people flagged, and they grew so greatly discouraged as to cease work after several years of effort. This was not until all, or nearly all, the stonework had been built, and until, probably, their funds were running low. The opposition of the

* Cyrus lived for some eight years after his conquest of Babylon. That the opposition to the building of the Temple began in his reign is stated in Ezra IV. 5.

Satrap of Syria *—whose authority extended from Cilicia on the north to the frontiers of Egypt on the south—was very powerful, and was exerted through the short reign of Cambyses (seven years), and into that of Darius Hystaspis, to defeat the enterprise of the Jews. As the superior officer of Zerubbabel, the Satrap's reports would naturally receive more attention than those from Jerusalem, especially if the latter passed through his hands. If he did not dare actually and officially to forbid the continuance of the work, there were many ways in which he might delay and postpone it. One of the simplest and most effective of these negative methods was to forbid the Zidonians to assist in felling timber on Mount Lebanon for the completion of the building. This it was which brought the work to an inevitable standstill,† and to this period do the words of Ezra IV. 24 refer, "Then ceased the work of the house of God which is at Jerusalem; and it ceased unto the second year of the reign of Darius, King of Persia," ‡ i.e. Darius I, surnamed Hystaspis.

* His place of residence is not given, but it was probably at Samaria; for, when Alexander the Great took possession of Palestine his governor of the province of Coele-Syria, Andromachus, lived in Samaria, because of its central position.

† The effect of such a prohibition of the employment of Phœnician workmen would be all the more disastrous to the Jewish people and workmen, as it appears, from the first footnote to this chapter, that supplies had already been provided for them out of the public funds. These were probably lost.

‡ The seventeen verses preceding this one, viz. Ezra IV. 7–23, are episodal, and their juxtaposition is an instance of faulty or unusual editing. They refer to events which subsequently happened in the reign of Artaxerxes, grandson of Darius Hystaspis. The

Darius came to the throne some eighteen years after the conquest of Babylon. Eight or nine of these had possibly been used by the Jews in the leisurely building of the stonework of the Temple. These were followed by three or four years of idleness and non-building. In the second year of Darius, 520 B.C., when the disorders of the State and Empire were being settled by his strong hand, one of the returned immigrants to Jerusalem—the prophet Zechariah*—had a vision, in which he heard the encouraging voice of an angel saying to him : " The hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundation of this house ; his hands shall also finish it." Of the difficulties before them, with which they were but too familiar, he said, " The great mountain before Zerubbabel shall become a plain, and he shall bring forth the head-stone (of the Temple), with shoutings of Grace, grace unto it " (Zech. IV. 7–9).

During the six months before this, Haggai—

pedigree of Darius I has been given on page 85. According to the canon of Ptolemy, his successors, with their regnal years, were :—

1. Darius I, Hystaspis, 522–485 B.C.
2. Xerxes I, Ahasuerus, 485–464 B.C.
3. Artaxerxes I, Longimanus, 463–425 B.C.
4. Xerxes II, and Sogdianus, nine months.
5. Darius II, Nothus, 423–405 B.C.
6. Artaxerxes II, Mnemon, 405–358 B.C.
7. Artaxerxes III, Ochus, 358–338 B.C.
8. Arses, 338–336 B.C.
9. Darius III, Codomannus, 336–330 B.C.

* Zechariah was a priest who had come up with Zerubbabel from Babylon. He was not that representative head of the course of Iddo which appears in the list of Neh. XII. 16. There was no order of priests of his name.

another immigrant—had exerted his stimulating and hopeful ministry to awaken the people from their lethargy, and to point the moral that their distresses of blight and famine arose from the fact that Jehovah's house "lay waste," while they ran every man to the repair and construction of his own house.

After repeated appeals made by Haggai, in close succession to one another, the building was resumed in the sixth month of Darius' second year. The Tyrians being forbidden to do so, parties of Jews went up to Mount Lebanon, to bring wood with which to build the house, and the nation was again stirred to another effort to complete the building.*

Immediately after the feast of Tabernacles in the same year, Haggai delivered a sermon, of which the text was, "Be strong, O Zerubbabel; be strong, O Joshua, the high priest; and be strong all ye people of the land, saith the Lord, *and work*, for I am with you" (Hag. II. 1–9). Other appeals were made by him, all of which close with a promise to Zerubbabel reversing that made to Jeconiah—the last member of the Solomonic line (Jer. XXII. 24)—and making him as the signet ring upon the right hand of Jehovah.

Four years and a half † were now spent in

* Haggai's exhortation was, "Consider your ways. Go up to the mountain and bring wood, and build the house, and I will take pleasure in it" (Hag. I. 8). The timber for Solomon's Temple had been brought by Tyrians—woodcutters and sailors—to Joppa (1 Kings v.).

† The resumption of work took place in the middle of Darius' second year (Hag. I. 15), and it was completed in the last month of Darius' sixth year (Ezra VI. 15).

the work of completing the sacred structure, it being hurried on toward the end so as to be ready for dedication on the first day of the following year. The finishing touches were put to it on the third day of Adar (Ezra VI. 15), corresponding to our 23 February, in the year 516 B.C., this being twenty years after its beginning. Twenty years—years of profound peace—was also the time taken by Solomon in the erection of his far more magnificent Temple, and the complex of palaces and buildings which surrounded it.

During the erection of the second Temple, and in 529 B.C., Cyrus died by the hand of a Scythian on the field of battle or in a night attack. He left two sons, Cambyses and Bardes—the latter of whom Herodotus calls Smerdis. The former ascended the Persian throne, and spent the first four years of his reign in preparations for an attack on Egypt. In 525 B.C. he conducted an expedition thither, and defeated the Egyptian army near Pelusium. His brother Bardes was left at Susa, but, after a year or two, secret orders were sent from Egypt by Cambyses to assassinate him. The natural result followed. The Persian King was distant, and the regicides plotted to seize the kingly power. They found one, Gomates by name, a Magian, who resembled Bardes in appearance. Him they persuaded to personate the murdered Prince. State secrets of this kind are impossible of long-continued privacy. When the truth began to be known, Persia, Media, and other provinces broke into rebellion against their

long-absent King. On the news of this revolt reaching Cambyses, he appointed a Satrap over Egypt, and set out to oppose the usurper. When he reached Syria on his homeward way, other disquieting news awaited him. Overcome with despair and remorse for his deeds of blood, he committed suicide, after a violent reign of seven years—522 B.C. In him the family of Cyrus became extinct in the direct line. Chaos now reigned throughout the once-mighty Persian Empire. The false Bardes was now master of the eastern portions of it, and public affairs were in a deplorable condition. At this crisis there arose a man equal to the occasion, who has further left to us a full account of his early proceedings, in the trilingual inscription of Behistun.* The elder branch of the Achæmenid kings having died out, the younger branch, then represented by Darius, the son of Hystaspis, who had married a daughter of Cyrus the Great, considered himself as the heir to the crown. He at once set to work to make good his claim, and within a few months of the death of Cambyses attacked the false Bardes in Media, and slew him on 10 April, 521 B.C.

The Median victory of Darius but added fuel to the flames of civil war. The subject populations refused to acknowledge, as the representative and successor of the line of Cyrus, one who, politically, was not a polytheist and did not take

* A translated copy of this great document, covering sixteen pages, is given as an appendix to Sayce's *Introduction to Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther.* R.T.S. 2s. 6d.

a representative part in the worship of all the gods. Darius, as a true Persian, was a believer in the Zoroastrian faith, which does not admit of the use of images or idols. The ferment was great. For two years more Darius was employed in reconquering the Empire of Cyrus. This he did. The figures of nine pretenders to thrones within the Empire, slain by him, ornament the Behistun inscription. Two of these arose in Susiana, two in Persia, two in Babylon, one each in Media, Sagartia, and Margiana. Babylon was twice besieged by the troops of Darius—a false Nebuchadrezzar, who called himself the son of Nabonidus, defying them for nearly two years. On his capture the walls of the city were partially thrown down, which made its second capture easy. On its final fall the city was completely destroyed, and never again lifted its head with anything of its ancient glory.

Thus gradually were the prophecies against Babylon fulfilled, and their gradual fulfilment is to be borne in mind if we would understand the course events were then taking in Jerusalem.

On the resumption of the last five years of work on the Temple, Tattenai, now Persian Satrap of the province of Syria, became greatly excited, and visited Jerusalem, to see with his own eyes what was being done. He was accompanied by Shethar-Bozenai, Governor of Samaria, and certain Apharsathites, or heathen settlers from Elam. These questioned the elders at Jerusalem as to their authority for building, and meaningly

wished to know the names of the men who were responsible for the work.

The interview is fully reported—from older documents—in the pages of Ezra, who gives a copy of the official letter sent by the Samaritan malcontents to Darius, and also a copy of his reply to them (Ezra v. 3–vi. 12).

This correspondence shows Darius in a most favourable light. He gave orders for the case to be investigated, and then found for the defendants. The evidence adduced was wholly in their favour, the very copy of the decree of Cyrus to which the defendants had appealed being found at Achmetha (Ecbatana), the capital of Media. Darius did more. He issued a royal rescript confirming the decree of Cyrus, and adding fresh clauses to it. These were to the effect that his officers beyond-the-river were to give every assistance in their power to the finishing of the work of the Temple at Jerusalem, and that out of the public revenues of the Satrapy provision was to be made in it for daily burnt-offerings, according to the requisition of the priests who were at Jerusalem. Such a decision in their favour, together with the "diligence" which had been infused into the complainant party, soon completed the work, and the Temple was prepared for opening, as already stated.

Darius was a worthy successor of Cyrus, whom, in some respects, he excelled. Like him, he was a great soldier, and may be looked upon as a real founder and organizer of the Persian

Empire. In one of his inscriptions he claims to have been neither a liar nor a despot, but to have ruled according to law. History allows the claim. As a Zoroastrian it must have been with peculiar pleasure that, on the Syrian appeal, he decided for a monotheistic faith, as against the idolatrous use of images and gods.

The dedication of the second Temple took place, amid the blare of trumpets, on the first day of the ecclesiastical year—Nisan 1st, a date corresponding to our 21 March, 516 B.C., and a few days after its completion.

The precedents of the Tabernacle and the first Temple openings were followed in fixing this day for the ceremony.

As the great altar had been sanctified when built—during the first year of their return, twenty years before—it required no further consecration (Ezra III. 1–6). We may, however, be sure that in every respect, so far as was possible, the course of the service used at the opening of Solomon's Temple was followed by Jeshua, the High Priest, and Zerubbabel, the Governor.

Solomon's great prayer of dedication was probably repeated, and the same Psalms sung as then. It is touching to see that, in spite of their greatly diminished numbers, the children of the captivity still clung to the amiable fiction that they represented the twelve tribes. According to the Law of Leviticus IV. 22–6, a he-goat was now offered as a sin-offering for the ruler of each of the twelve tribes, and for the whole congregation 100 young bullocks, 200 rams, and 400

lambs. These last were peace or thank offerings, the flesh of which was eaten by the people, the flesh of the former by the priests alone. Great joy characterized this celebration; and on the fourteenth day of the month the Passover was killed and the feast of unleavened bread followed. The priests were now set in their divisions, and the Levites in their courses.

Each of these divisions and courses undertook duty in the Temple for a week, every half-year. There were of necessity—the months being lunar ones of twenty-eight days—twenty-four companies of each class.

It is not without reason that the historian uses the unusual word "divisions" in relation to the priests. For, of the twenty-four courses established by David, registered members of four * only had returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel. Very few priests returned with Ezra. Their number is not given.

* Three of these four names were those of priestly courses as established by David (1 Chron. XXIV. 7–18). The fourth, named from Pashhur — the persecutor of Jeremiah — had as his father Malchijah (Jer. XXI. 1; Neh. XI. 12). Pashhur is last mentioned in Jer. XXXVIII. 1, and was probably taken to Babylon, and, as the nominal head of a separate body of returning clerical exiles, became in course of time its titular head (Neh. X. 3). It is probable that in this, the largest of the four bodies that returned, were select representatives of all the other courses than the three named. The large total given to Pashhur's company favours this idea. If this were so the adoption of a neutral name would be done to soothe the susceptibilities of the minor bodies. On the division of the returned body of priests into twenty-four courses, the name of Pashhur would naturally and in time be taken as that of the course to which he had belonged, which was that of Immer, otherwise Iddo. See note on the priestly courses appended to this chapter, where Pashhur takes the place of Iddo in the nominal roll of Nehemiah's time.

In the company of Zerubbabel were :—

Of the course of	Jediah ..	973	members.
,, ,,	Immer ..	1052	,,
,, ,,	Pashhur ..	1247	,,
,, ,,	Harim ..	1017	,,
		4289	

Each of these four bodies of priests was cut up into six divisions, so that each course now consisted of about 178 members, as an average. These are the " divisions " spoken of (Ezra VI. 18) at the time of the Temple-opening, the names of most of which will be found below. The second column of the appended " Note " to this chapter shows that these twenty-four divisions took the ancient names of the priestly courses.

The 340 Levites who returned were also similarly divided, the distinction of priests' assistants, singers, and door-porters being rigidly kept up. During the twenty years in which the Temple was being built small parties of returning Israelites continued to arrive from Babylon,* so that the clerics actually allocated to each division and course would be a little in excess of the above numbers. It is owing to this cause that the numbers cited in Ezra and Nehemiah are sometimes slightly at variance with one another.

* Such appeals and messages as the following could hardly have been quite barren of results, as sent from Jerusalem :—

Ho, ho, flee from the land of the north, saith the Lord :
For I have spread you abroad as the four winds of heaven.
Ho, Zion, escape, thou that dwellest with the daughter of Babylon.
(Zech. II. 6, 7).

It was a hopeful sign of the times that in the keeping of the first Passover after the dedication of the Temple the children of the captivity allowed such resident Hebrews "as had separated themselves from the filthiness of the heathen of the land," to partake with them. Not the least, but the greatest, cause for earthly gratulation and joy at this feast was the fact that Darius, the Persian, King of Assyria and Babylon, as well as King of Judea, had his heart turned to them to strengthen their hands in the work of the House of God, the God of Israel (Ezra VI. 15–22).

During the thirty-six years of his reign Darius remained the patron and steadfast friend of the ancient people of God.

NOTE ON THE PRIESTLY COURSES

NOMINAL ROLLS OF THE PRIESTLY COURSES OF THE TEMPLE AT DIFFERENT PERIODS OF ITS HISTORY

1000 B.C. Abimelech and Zadok, High Priests.	515 B.C. Jeshua, High Priest (Ezra VI. 18).	480–450 B.C. Joiakim, High Priest.	433 B.C. Eliashib, High Priest.
Bilgah	Bilgah	Bilgah	Bilgai
Abijah	Ahijah	Abijah	Abijah†
Mijamin	Mijamin	Miniamin*	Mijamin
Shecaniah	Shecaniah	Shebaniah	Shebaniah
Maazaniah	Maadiah	Moadiah	Maaziah
Harim	Rahum	Harim	Harim
Seorim	Seraiah	Seraiah	Serajah
Jediah	Jediah	Jediah	Meshullam
Gamul	Ginnethoi	Ginnethon	Ginnethon
Jeshebeah	Jeremiah	Jeremiah	Jeremiah
Joshua	Shemaiah	Shemaiah	Shemaiah
Jehoiarib	Joiarib	Joiarib	. . . .‡
Pethaiah	Amariah	Amariah	Amariah
Eliashib	Malluch	Malluchi	Malluch
Hakkoz	Meremoth	Meraioth	Meremoth
Happizzoz	Hattush	. . . .	Hattush
Hezir	Ezra	Ezra	Azariah
Immer	Iddo	Iddo	Pashhur§
Jakim	Sallu	Sallai	Daniel
Huppah	Amok	Amok	Baruch
Jehezkel	Hilkiah	Hilkiah	Obadiah
Deliah	Jediah	Jediah	(Zedekiah)
Malchijah	. . . .	. . . .	Malchijah
Jachin	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
(24)	(22)	(21)	(22)
(1 Chron. XXIV. 7–18.)	(Neh. XII. 2–6.)	(Neh. XII. 12–21.)	(Neh. X. 1–8.)

* The personal name of the priest who was at the head of the course of Miniamin, in the days of Joiakim, is the only one which has dropped out, verse 17, of the text of Neh. XII. In a similar way, or from unknown reasons, other names of courses have been omitted in

the three later lists, as we cannot think that fewer than twenty-four courses were ever appointed. Thus, the course of Jachin is omitted from each of the last three lists, but census genealogical summaries of the time of Nehemiah tell us that there were then priests of the courses of Jediah, Jehoiarib, and Jachin (1 Chron. IX. 10; Neh. XI. 10). These three names are the only ones missing from the fourth list, that of Jediah being now changed, arbitrarily. This list, being that taken at the time of the making of the Great Covenant of Ezra and Nehemiah—to which the High Priest, Eliashib, was hostile—it would seem that he influenced the heads of the Jerusalem courses—Jediah, Jehoiarib, and Jachin—to refuse their seals to the document. This will account for their absence from the record. Zedekiah was probably an inferior priest, whose name was taken in lieu of that of his official superior, it not being known to which course he belonged.

† Zacharias, father of John the Baptist, was "of the course of Abijah" (Luke I. 5).

‡ Mattathias, the father of the Maccabees, was "a priest of the order of Joiarib" (Josephus, *Ant.*, XII. 6, § 1). The order was thus not extinct, nor did its name change. This is cause for accepting the reasons given above for its not appearing here.

§ Pashhur was a member of the course of Immer (Jer. XX. 1). For the probable reason of his elevation here see footnote on page 165. His son and grandson were named Jeroham and Adaiah, the latter of whom appears in the times of Ezra and Nehemiah (1 Chron. IX. 12).

CHAPTER X

THE HISTORICAL SILENCE OF FIFTY-SIX YEARS

THE Temple being opened on the first day of the sixth year of the reign of Darius, i.e. 516 B.C. (the civil years in Babylon and Palestine being synchronous), there remained thirty years during which Darius reigned as the overlord of the Jews. Through these years the foundations of later Judaism were laid. The community that now settled in Benjamin and Judah was largely a youthful band of patriotic and religious enthusiasts. The lighter and busier elements of the old population had been left in the East. Those who returned did so owing to family claims or to the inspiration of some prophet's voice striking a responsive chord within their breasts. There was, therefore, everything to hope for in the new circumstances. God had given them powerful patrons in Cyrus and Darius ; the times were propitious, but, like every other generation of men, however favourably placed, these had to work out their own salvation by wisdom and industry.

Darius was followed, for twenty years, on the Persian throne by Xerxes, and Xerxes by Artaxerxes, who reigned forty-one years.

It is not until we come to the seventh year of

the last-named King (Ezra VII. 8) that the histories of Ezra and Nehemiah resume the story of Jerusalem and Judah. There is thus an historical hiatus of fifty-six full years between the opening of the Temple in 516 B.C. and the mission of Ezra in 458 B.C., which is now to engage our attention. This interval of time is to be placed between the sixth and seventh chapters of Ezra, and between the two parts of the last verse of Nehemiah VII. In the latter of these passages the punctuation of the Authorized Version requires amendment, so as to bring it into accord with Ezra II. 70, the Authorized Version reading here being preferable to that adopted in the Revised Version, in which the translation of some Hebrew words is omitted, for the sake of greater smoothness in the English reading.*

To these fifty-six years belongs the book of the prophet Malachi, in whose pages we obtain a distinct view of the services then being conducted in the new Temple, and of the spirit which animated the reformed worshippers.

His use of the word *Pekhah*, or Governor, in Malachi I. 8, shows that Malachi wrote during the lifetime of Zerubbabel,† this being his official title ;

* Dr. Ryle's note on Ezra II. 70 says: "An awkwardness is presented by the words 'in their cities' occurring twice" (Cambridge Bible for Schools, *Ezra and Nehemiah*, p. 38). The Bishop does not see that the citation from the old document ends with the word "cities," and that the last clause of the verse belongs to the next chapter, and refers to a later date in the same year.

† It is true that Pekhah was the ordinary title of the Governor of Jerusalem, but such sacrifices as Malachi refers to would be offered only through a Hebrew, and not through a heathen governor.

and on his death no successor was appointed, Judah being, as we shall see, then placed directly under the control of the Syrian Satrap beyond-the-river, with an agent in Jerusalem.

We thus have, from a prophetic pen, a contemporary account of the state of religion in the early years of the second Temple. The picture is a melancholy one! The distress and poverty of the people was such that no Levite could be found who would shut the gates of the Temple, and no priest who would kindle the altar fires, without pay. As sacrifices, blind, sick, and lame animals were brought to the altar — together with animals taken by violence from their owners.

The administration of justice in the hands of the priests and Levites was polluted. They "had respect of persons in the law." Divorce was common, and women were dealt with treacherously. Tithes and offerings were withheld. Sorcerers, adulterers, false swearers, and oppressors abounded. Together with these gross moral evils, there was, as their aggravation, a spirit of hypocrisy abroad which prompted the wicked on the great Day of Atonement to walk in mourning apparel before the Lord of Hosts, and to cover the altar of God with simulated tears and sighs.

The gloom of this social and religious Gehenna was relieved by one spot of brilliance. In the midst of these appalling evils "they that feared the Lord spake one with another" in sympathy and fellowship. To them were gracious words spoken and promises made. They were the soul

of goodness in things evil, and were the true hope of Israel and the world (Mal. III. 16).

The Book of Esther is another literary product of this period, and belongs to the age of Xerxes (485–465 B.C.), whose name occurs in it 187 times. It is of use here as showing that large numbers of Jews remained in the Persian Empire after the first return. In the capital itself, Susa—by the civil war permitted by the edict and counter-edict of the King—800 of his subjects were slain by them, and, in other parts of his Empire, 15,000.*

The deduction is that there were many thousands of the sons of Israel scattered over the eastern portions of the Empire who had not returned to Judah. This is in accordance with all the facts hitherto adduced as to the large numbers carried captive and the small number who returned. The Book of Esther further shows that not all those who remained were irreligious and worldly-minded. Mordecai was a great figure, and, in the late Dr. Pusey's opinion, was the writer of the Book of Esther, as is said in Esther IX. 20. By whomsoever written, its object was to give an historic account of the feast of Purim—a festival still kept up, but which has no mention in the New Testament.

Of the objections that have been brought against the historicity of the Book of Esther on the grounds of internal evidence, the strongest

* This is the number given in the Septuagint. The Hebrew text has 75,000. Probably even the smaller number is too large.

is the testimony of Herodotus that Amestris was the sole wife of Xerxes, and that she continued to be his wife till the end of his life and reign. Esther was, therefore, one of his illegitimate wives, and of them the favourite. With this understanding the narrative should present no difficulties to a reader with an open mind—credence to the given numbers always being reserved.

The greatest event in ancient history is, undoubtedly, the Persian attack on Greece, which fell within this space of fifty-six years. It is such, whether we consider it in its results to the Persian Empire, to which it ultimately brought extinction, or to the Grecian States, to which it proved the harbinger of intellectual freedom and glory.

The literature to which it gave birth is amongst the noblest of the world. The nine books of the History of Herodotus are concerned with this great theme as their main topic ; * while the *Anabasis* of Xenophon recounts, in splendid prose, the counter-attack of the younger Cyrus on the capital of the Great King.

At the time when the war began Persia was the mistress of the world. Her shores were laved by the waters of the Persian Gulf, the Red, the Mediterranean, the Black, and Caspian Seas.

* Herodotus was born 484 B.C., or eight years after the war began. He is, therefore, an excellent authority on events which happened during the course of his life, or immediately before it, and no one now questions either his industry or his sincerity.

In some directions they exceeded these natural boundaries. In the language of Daniel's prophetic vision the Persian Empire was "the ram which had two horns" (which were the kings of Media and Persia, verse 20), "and the two horns were high: but the one was higher than the other, and the higher came up last. I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward: and no beast could stand before him, neither could any deliver out of his hand: but he did according to his will and magnified himself" (Dan. VIII. 3, 4, 20).

With the larger share of the then-known world at his feet, Darius, son of Hystaspis, determined to subdue the nascent republics of the Grecian mainland and archipelago—the infant home of human liberty.

A local quarrel had broken out in Asia Minor between the Athenians and the Sardians, in which Sardis was burnt to the ground and the Temple of Cybele destroyed (Herodotus, v. §§ 96–102).

With the object of retrieving this disgrace to Persia—Lydia being then a portion of the Empire—an expedition was sent against Greece, under Mardonius. This was in 492 B.C., twenty-four years after the opening of the Temple in Jerusalem.

Mardonius was a young man, who had become son-in-law to Darius. The expedition, the objective of which was Athens, reached the Hellespont, where a storm shattered the fleet. A night attack, about the same time, was made by the

Greeks on the land forces, and Mardonius, "having failed disgracefully, returned to Asia" (Herodotus, VI. §§ 43–5).

Two years afterwards a second expedition was sent to attempt the conquest of Greece. This was placed under the Generals Datis and Artaphernes, the latter being the son of a half-brother of Darius. After some minor successes by the Persians, the two enemies faced one another on the Plain of Marathon, twenty-six miles from Athens. In the conflict that ensued, the Greek centre was broken, but the two wings uniting defeated the Persian hosts and chased the runaways to their ships. The year was 490 B.C., and the hero of the day was Miltiades. Themistocles, Æschylus, and Aristides were among the combatants (Herodotus, VI. 94–118).

Five years after Marathon the death of Darius Hystaspis took place, and his son Xerxes came to a throne which he occupied for twenty years. A great change at once took place in the relations of Susa and Jerusalem. The character of the father, as a man and a ruler, stood very high. He was a sincere friend to the Jews, and but for his countenance the Temple would have remained unfinished. Secular history confirms the opinion we form from the Book of Esther as to the character of his son Ahasuerus or Xerxes. Both proclaim him to have been weak, vain, cowardly, and capricious. Under such an effeminate sovereign the stern faith of Judaism had little to hope for

or to expect. His name does not, therefore, appear in the annals of the Church outside of the Book of Esther, which sets him before us in no heroic aspect.

The chief outcome of the Persian energies and power now was the vindictive prosecution of the war with Greece. Into its third invasion Xerxes threw his influence and the great revenues of the Empire. Five years after his accession Xerxes himself set forth on his march to the west, accompanied by a mighty multitude, with Mardonius, his cousin, as his commander-in-chief (Herodotus, VII. § 20). It is here that the value of the historic records of the Book of Esther comes in, and sheds a truer light upon the facts than the unhistoric speeches with which Herodotus has garnished his pages. The Greek historian's record of these discussions—however imaginary the speeches recorded by him—shows us that great debates took place in the Persian capital before the resumption of the war with Greece was decided upon.

What the Book of Esther does is to tell us that in "the third year of his reign" * Xerxes made a great feast to his nobles and princes at Susa. The ceremonial feast lasted for 180 days, during which time the provincial Governors and Generals were received at Court, and was followed by a public entertainment in the garden of the palace, which extended over a week (Esther I. 1–9). The six-months' conference, recorded in Esther,

* This is also the date given by Herodotus, vii. §§ 7–8.

with all the nobles and the princes of the provinces, could have referred only to the projected war with Greece—in which Persia had already suffered two severe defeats. When an affirmative decision was arrived at, and the respective contingents of troops were settled, the coming campaign was announced to all the people that were in Shushan, at their reception in the court of the garden of the King's palace. The third year of Xerxes' reign was the only one in which such a six-months' debate and conference could have been held, as Xerxes spent the first year of his reign in suppressing a revolt of Egypt (Herodotus, VII. § 7). At the close of his fifth year the vast army, which was to bridge the Hellespont and to burn the city of Athens, moved to the west.

The heroic defence of the Greeks at the battles of Thermopylæ and Salamis in 480 B.C., and at Plataea and Mykale in 479, may be read in the last three books of the History of Herodotus. It is enough to say here that as their result Xerxes fled, first to Sardis—one of his provincial capitals —and thence to Susa, with his army crushed and his navy overwhelmed. The expedition had lasted between two and three years, and, on his ignominious return to his capital, Xerxes gave himself up to the pleasures of the table and the harem. It was *then* that Esther * was taken into the best place "in the house of the women" within the

* Her real name was Hadassah, meaning myrtle, and she was called Esther on her promotion—this name being synonymous with Ishtar or Venus—on account of her beauty.

palace. Her triumph came in the tenth month of the seventh year of Xerxes' reign (Esther II. 16), when she was preferred before all the other aspirants for the King's favour.

It is not without significance that Xerxes met his death as a result of a palace intrigue, and that his assassination is supposed to have been instigated by his lawful wife Amestris, as a result of jealousy. If so, the reason may be that of Esther I. 19, "that Vashti come no more before King Ahasuerus." It will be remembered that an earlier conspiracy against his life had been detected by Mordecai, as described in the Book of Esther.

The death of Xerxes took place in the year 465 B.C., which was seventy years after the return under Zerubbabel. We can hardly be wrong if we allow that during these years the death of Zerubbabel also took place. Though the Jews in Judah were too few and too feeble to have taken much, if any, share in the vast armaments of Xerxes, the Jewish nation could not but be profoundly affected by the events which were happening on their western neighbourhood. The twice-repeated defeat of their sovereign-lord could not but raise in their breasts expectations of complete deliverance from Persian domination. This, and other reasons to be adduced, may have caused a complete change in the administration of the country. The office held by Zerubbabel was not an hereditary one. At his death neither of his two sons, Meshullam and Hananiah

(1 Chron. III. 19),* was chosen to succeed him in the governorship. There were reasons why—in the accomplishment of the work of Temple-building, in the ill results that had followed the narrow legislation of Zerubbabel as to the Samaritans, and in the wish to strengthen the central power of Susa—the government of Judea should be changed.

In the era now about to open we find mention of an entirely new appointment which may have been first made when the question arose as to a successor to Zerubbabel. It is that of a representative of the Jews at the Court of Artaxerxes. "Pethahiah, the son of Meshezabel, of the children of Zerah, the son of Judah, was at the King's hand in all matters concerning the people" (Neh. XI. 24). This note of time receives some support from the fact that Meshezabel's grandson helped Nehemiah to repair the city wall (Neh. III. 4). After the trouble which had been given to the Court officials of Darius, regarding the lost rescript of Cyrus, and other minor matters arising out of the peculiar religious views of the Persian subjects in Judah, it was probably as agreeable to Jerusalem to have an official at the Persian Court who could faithfully represent *them* to an absolute Sovereign, as it was to *him* to end the racial strife under the Syrian Satrap. The real representative of the Jews, elected by themselves, therefore lived in Persia. In this way the royal

* There were other descendants than these. In Matthew I. 13 Zerubbabel is said to have begat Abiud, and in Luke III. Rhesa is said to have been the son of Zorobabel. As these genealogies are condensed ones, these were later descendants.

hopes which once had centred on Zerubbabel, the descendant of Nathan, son of David, melted away, never to return. The great scheme sketched out by Ezekiel for giving to the *Nasi* of Jerusalem a semi-royal income and semi-royal state, vanished. The history of the future was to be moulded by the acts of the time, and the errors of the fathers—arising out of a mistaken sense of their duty in an endeavour to maintain the purity of the Temple worship—was visited upon their children for many generations.

The withdrawal of the Hebrew governorship of Judea from Jerusalem was an event which was freighted with large consequences to the Jewish people. The administration of justice in ceremonial and criminal cases had always been, and still remained, in the hands of the priests and Levites. But civil cases and cases of appeal belonged to the king or governor of the land. All such cases now came before the Persian Satrap of Syria, or his deputy in Jerusalem.* This transfer of administrative power was bound to work in a manner hostile to the peculiar institutions of Judaism. We have seen that in a struggle between Zerubbabel and the Samaritans as to the completion of the building of the Temple, the latter were defeated on an appeal to the supreme power. The decision of any such case in the future would now lie with the defeated side, while the memory of their former repulse would not tend to kindliness or consideration in the future.

* See Note, p. 183.

The chief national authority in Jerusalem now was the High Priest. He became the people's representative in the land, as Pethahiah was their representative in Persia.

It was inevitable that some working agreement should be come to between Church and State in Jerusalem. Conferences and friendly relations would be entered into, the secret hope of the Jewish chief being that, when things became impossible of settlement locally, the ear of the great King would be always accessible through their agent in Susa.

This condition of things political explains how it came to pass that the grandson of the High Priest Eliashib married Sanballat's daughter, Sanballat being then the Satrap of Syria ; and also how it was that Nehemiah found one of the chambers in the Temple handed over to Tobiah the Ammonite. Nehemiah, consequently, had to carry out his reforms in direct opposition to the heathenish proclivities of the High Priest, Eliashib, whose name does not appear among the number of those who accepted or assisted in the reformation work of Nehemiah.

It could not be but that, with such sinister influences at work in the political sphere, great laxity should appear in the ritual and worship of the Temple and in the realms of morals and religion. The bright hopes of the prophets of the Restoration had melted away, as rainbow colours disappear at the setting of the sun. Of visible idolatry there was none, but there are other idols than those of wood and stone. To

the worship of these, with the few bright exceptions mentioned by Malachi, the nation now assiduously devoted itself.

NOTE TO PAGE 181

ON THE PERSIAN GOVERNORS OF JUDAH

The name of one such Persian Governor of Judah has been recovered in the Aramaic papyri lately discovered in Egypt, and published by Professor Sachau, of Berlin. The text of one of these documents is a petition, addressed "To our lord Bagohi,* Governor of Jehûd," wherein another letter is referred to which had already been addressed to the High Priest Jehohanan, the grandson of Eliashib. The petition is dated in the seventeenth year of Darius II (Nothus), and thus belongs to 408–407 B.C. (*Expositor*, Dec., 1907; *Guardian*, 6 Nov., 1907.)

* I may be allowed to express, in a footnote, my doubt as to whether this Bagohi is the Bagoas of Josephus, as is sometimes thought, and of whom some account is given on pp. 271–4. I do so for the reason that the petition above referred to, a translation of which may be seen in *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* for February, 1908, mentions Sinaballat, the Sanballat who opposed Nehemiah. This name, together with that of Jehohanan, another contemporary of Nehemiah (Ezra X. 6, Neh. XII. 23), makes it unlikely that Bagohi should be that Bagoas who was put to death by the third Darius on his accession in 336 B.C., this taking place nearly a century after Nehemiah's time.

CHAPTER XI

THE GOVERNORSHIP OF EZRA, AND THE SECOND RETURN

THE twenty years during which Xerxes sat upon the throne were years of Persian disintegration and decay. Marathon, Thermopylæ, Salamis, and Plataea* were names of evil omen to the State, and the personal character of its King became more and more selfish and degraded. The greatest power at the Court of Susa was wielded by a eunuch.

It is not to be expected that any one of the constituent provinces of the Empire would escape the evil contagion of the capital city. In Judea the Temple should have been as a fold of safety in a land of ungodliness, but its priests were formal and self-seeking, and the little flock of the meek were as lambs among wolves. It was under such conditions that Artaxerxes ascended the throne of the great King in 465 B.C.

Soon after his accession the Jewish envoy at his Court must have sought an interview with him, and made such grave representations as to the political and social condition of things in Southern Syria that, as a necessity of the case,

* On the same day on which the land forces met on the plains of Plataea, the Persian fleet was defeated at Mykale, on the coast of Asia Minor.

immediate action was determined upon. What that action should be was a matter of infinite moment to the little Syrian State. Doubtless the envoy traced all the evils of which he complained to the practical neglect of the Temple at Jerusalem, and of the Deity in whose honour it was built. He would here be on strong conservative ground, as both Cyrus and Darius had left practical proof of their sense of the importance of propitiating the God of the Country—this being then the commonly-accepted theory of the way in which to secure peaceful governance and prosperity, in any and every land.

There was then living in Babylonia a certain priest of good family, descended from the High Priest Seraiah, who had been put to death at Riblah by Nebuchadrezzar. The office of the High Priest being entailed from the eldest son of a single family to *his* eldest son, the junior branches of each family took their places in one of the twenty-four priestly courses. Thus the scions of the house of Joshua belonged to the course of Jedaiah (Ezra II. 36). To this course Ezra belonged (Ezra VII. 1).

He had not been a member of the first return, being not then born. Nor, on reaching manhood, did he follow his compatriots, but had occupied himself in studying and in transcribing the Jewish Tôrah, until he became known throughout Babylonia as its chief exponent and living authority. His relation to the high-priestly line would assist him here. He tells us that he was "a ready

scribe in the law of Moses, which Jehovah, the God of Israel, had given." We shall not rightly estimate either the character of Ezra or his work unless we think of him through all the formative years of his life as chiefly, if not solely, a literary man, and consequently a recluse, not well versed, because not hitherto occupied, in public or business affairs.

So great was his fame among his compatriots on these special Rabbinical grounds,* that it was thought if any man could recall the Jerusalem priesthood and people to a conscientious sense of their duty, it was the man who had devoted his life to an assiduous study of the sacred books. Him, therefore, it was decided to nominate to the King, with a request that he might be given civil as well as ecclesiastical powers, in order to carry out the much-needed reformation in Judah.

Artaxerxes—by nature kindly disposed to the Jews—influenced by the precedent of Cyrus in the appointment of Zerubbabel, agreed to appoint Ezra Governor of Judea, there being in his case no fear of the founding of a rival dynasty, as Ezra, unlike Zerubbabel, was not of royal blood.

A royal interview took place, of which Ezra records that "the King granted him all his

* Such public esteem as that in which Ezra was held could hardly have been won in any other way than by the preparation and circulation of his great work on the history of the nation, now known to us as the Second Division of the Books of Chronicles—beginning with 1 Chronicles x., and embracing the remaining fifty-six chapters of the work. There is no reason against, but several in favour of this document having been written in Babylonia. See *Solomon's Temple*, pp. 7–15.

request" (Ezra VII. 6). What his requests were we are not directly told, but the King must have been favourably impressed by his new official, as the liberal terms of his commission show. That commission emanated not from the King alone, but from his Council of Seven as well, so that it was an order in Council, and was accompanied by a grant of silver and gold from the treasury of the State (Ezra VII. 14, 15).

Ezra was, at the same time, authorized to draw upon the treasurers beyond-the-river amounts up to a hundred talents of silver, a hundred cors * of wheat, a hundred baths of olive oil, and as much salt as was required for the Temple use, every sacrifice being salted with salt.

He was also authorized to collect from his brethren in Babylonia bullion and vessels of gold and silver, for the service of the Temple. New permission was also given to all Hebrews of the realm—laity, priests, and Levites—who were so minded of their own free will, to go to Jerusalem with Ezra.

In one particular alone was there retrocession. The order given by Darius to provide animals for the sacrifices offered on behalf of the State was

* The Hebrew *Cor* was a measure of about eighty English bushels. The granting of these supplies was, probably, the answer given to Ezra's "requests." That such an application should have been made—and granted—shows in what a state of poverty and destitution the Hebrew settlers were, and were in Persia known to be. The supplies granted were, however, only such as were used in the Temple services and feasts. From this it may be seen that Ezra primarily intended to reform and restore the Temple services, and through them to favourably affect the nation at large.

withdrawn. It had, without doubt, been found productive of friction with the Samaritan authorities who had to provide the beasts. In its place was a provision that none of the persons engaged in the Temple officially—whether priests, Levites, singers, porters, Nethinim, or servants—should be required to pay tribute, custom, or toll. This was an important provision of easement, as it freed many thousands of Persian subjects from contributing to the fabric of the State, and is the best example of the lavish generosity with which the King treated his new Governor, and proof of his sincere desire to give him an unassailable position and material assistance in the performance of his great task.

Attempts have been made to represent the Governor's mission as purely a religious one, and thus to belittle his civil authority. But this is to misrepresent the nature of his appointment, and is an attempt to screen Ezra from the consequences of his own one-sided and partial failure.

He was given the most absolute power that a feudatory ruler and governor could have. He was told to appoint magistrates and judges, who should enforce the laws of Jehovah, and teach them to those who did not know them. Defaulters to this law were to be punished either with death, banishment, confiscation of goods, or imprisonment—these being the amplest powers that even the most despotic of kings could exercise.*

* "The Captivity in Babylonia . . . produced the greatest renaissance the world has ever seen. In Babylonia, with its marvellous

Of the fact that Ezra was fully appreciative of the King's liberality and favour we have a singular proof. It is shown in such a return for it as might be expected from a literary man, to whom written words that remain are the most important of things. In transcribing accounts of events that had taken place under Zerubbabel, and which resulted in the building of the Temple, he mentions Cyrus and Darius. To them he adds the name of his patron Artaxerxes (who did not live till long after), which mention he supplements by the date of the long-past Temple dedication (Ezra VI. 14, 15). He also inserts in an earlier chapter—quite out of its chronological place—a long story of how Misredath, the Persian Satrap of Syria, and Rehum, a special agent of the King, had succeeded, "by force and power," in stopping the repairing of the walls of Jerusalem (Ezra IV. 7–23). The only possible reason that can be given for such dislocations of his narrative, by which events of the fifth century B.C. are mixed up with those of the sixth century B.C., is the evident desire of Ezra, the author and compiler, to make some handsome acknowledgment to his patron, by classing him with his great ancestors, Cyrus and Darius, as benefactors of the Temple. This flattery was the work of a weak and perhaps vain man, such as we shall find Ezra to have been.

system of religious and political centralization, the Jew saw the true secret of national life. The God was one with the nation, his city and temple were the life and heart of the nation, and from him law and order must come. There it was that the old fragments were revised and edited, the national literature constructed, so as to have a continuity of tradition extending back to the childhood of the nation" (Boscawen's *First of Empires*, Preface, p. xxii.).

The Second Return, under Ezra

The appointment of Ezra as Governor of Judah and Jerusalem dated from the first day of the seventh ecclesiastical year of the reign of Artaxerxes, corresponding to 21 March, 457 B.C. (Ezra VII. 9). On this day he left Shushan to take command of the party of emigrants that had gathered at the usual place of assembly for members of caravan parties. This was at the river that runneth toward Ahava,* and opposite *Hit*, eight days' journey from Babylon, where the rich alluvial lowlands of Babylonia end and the dry uplands or steppes are entered on. The encampment and line of march were on the left or east bank of the river Euphrates, and the route lay toward the sources of the river. Hence Ezra uniformly speaks of "going up" from Babylon.

On taking command, Ezra's first official act was to see who were present in the camp. Several Jewish nobles and men of priestly descent were found. The principals of these are given as :—

Gershom, a descendant of Phineas, son of Aaron.
Daniel „ „ Ithamar „ „
Hattush, a member of the royal house of David.
(Ezra VIII. 2.)

* Ahava was evidently on the right bank of the river Euphrates, while the encampment of the Jews was on the left bank. Hence we have the statement that they were gathered together on the bank of the river (an affluent of the Euphrates) "that runneth to Ahava" (Ezra VIII. 15). The site of the camp is thus fixed.

The Davidic genealogy in 1 Chronicles, which is brought down to a period a little later than this, shows that Hattush was a grandson of Shecaniah (1 Chron. III. 22). The punctuation of Ezra VIII. 2, 3, therefore, requires amendment, so as to make it read, "Of the sons of David; Hattush, of the sons of Shecaniah."

David, Phineas, and Ithamar were founders of the three noblest families of Israel, and the mention of one of their descendants in each line, as the temporary and local head of his house, is not meant to exclude others of his family from being of the party. Thus the number of priests of the two Aaronic families who accompanied the party is not given, though the number of twelve Levites is mentioned as those to whom the care of the sacred vessels was afterwards entrusted. Ezra mentions, however, having "viewed" the people *and the priests*, and found that there were then no Levites in the company (Ezra VIII. 15). Also, that before leaving Ahava he handed over all the bullion and the treasures to "twelve of the chiefs of the priests," these being twelve Levites, the names of two of them being given (Ezra VIII. 18, 19, 24, margin). They were, respectively, those heads of two families of Merarites, who, later in the days of Joiakim the High Priest, were associated with Joshua, the son of Kadmiel, as conductors of the musical service in the Temple (Neh. XII. 24).

There were, therefore, few other priests than the two chiefs—Gershom and Daniel—whose names are given. That there were other ex-

royalties than Hattush is probable. He had five younger brothers, whose names are given in 1 Chronicles III. 22. It is unlikely that they would have preceded Hattush to Jerusalem, or that they should have been left to follow him. The fact that ten sons and grandsons of one of them are named by the chronicler (1, III. 22–4) can be used only as an argument to show that the editor or author of the first division of the Book of Chronicles wrote some years after Ezra's arrival at Jerusalem, and not later than the last year of Nehemiah, or thereabouts.

Ezra tells us that his object in forming a company to return was to gather together out of Israel " chief men " to go up with him (Ezra VII. 28). He was wisely solicitous to have men of influence and religion, rather than a contingent strong in mere numbers. Of greedy adventurers there were already too many at Jerusalem.

The number of adult laymen that were found in the camp has already been given, in the Note to chapter VIII., as 1496. To these must be added a small contingent of women and children, the number of which is unrecorded.

The priestly Governor, however, was shocked to find that not a single Levite had joined the caravan. He accordingly sent a strong deputation to an unknown village named Casiphia—where was a colony of Levites under a headman called Iddo—with instructions to persuade as many as possible of the inferior clergy of the Church to throw in their lot with the returning exiles. The deputation returned in about a

week's time, with 38 Levites and 220 Nethinim. These now formed a portion of the caravan, which, after a day's fasting and prayer, set out on its long and lonely pilgrimage.

Its numbers could not have totalled more than between two and three thousand souls, as against the fifty thousand led back by Zerubbabel. In one respect the march resembled that of the exodus from Egypt. This was in the fact that as the Tabernacle and the Ark had a prominent place *there*, so the sacred bullion and vessels contributed for the service of the Temple had the place of honour *here*. The call to return had said, "Be ye clean that bear the vessels of the Lord" (Isa. LII. 11), and Ezra now bade the twelve bearers of this collection of them remember that they were "holy unto the Lord, and the vessels are holy, and the gold and the silver are a free-will offering unto the Lord, the God of your fathers" (Ezra VIII. 28). As dedicated things these were also sacred. The value of these votive gifts to the Temple is extravagantly estimated by Dr. Ryle at "nearly a million of our money" * —many Hebrews no doubt compounding with their consciences for not returning to Zion, by making large gifts to the Temple there (Ezra VIII. 26).

* Including the amounts contributed by the King and his councillors, the items were—

650 Talents of silver in bullion.
100 Talents of silver vessels.
100 Talents of gold in bullion.
20 Bowls of gold, valued at 1000 darics.
2 Vessels of fine brass, equal to gold. (Ezra VIII. 26, 27.)

On the twelfth day of the spring new year the caravan set out. Its course lay parallel to the east bank of the great river, and along the royal road which then ran from Babylon to Carchemish.* The distance to the ford there is 350 miles from Ahava as the crow flies, but the road followed the windings of the river for the sake of the water, and so was probably 400 miles in length.

Along this road the earlier emigrants had travelled, as the river was unfordable below Carchemish. It was this fact which gave to the fortress of Carchemish its commercial and military importance. Ezra gratefully records that though he had no military guard to the treasures which accompanied him, no attack was made upon it by any enemy or party of ambush.

Exactly four months after the date of his appointment the caravan arrived at Jerusalem—without having met serious misadventure of any kind. If the ordinary tourist to the Holy Land feels his heart strangely stirred as he enters the Holy City for the first time, what must have been the feelings of one whose memory was full of its early history, and who now felt himself enrolled among its historic characters as, after Zerubbabel, its first Civil Governor and sole Priest-King? He has recorded—in the third person—the spirit in which he entered the city, in the words, "Ezra had set his heart to seek the law of the Lord, and to do it, and to teach in

* Carchemish, now *Jerabûs*, stood on the west bank of the Euphrates, above the mouth of the Sajur. The river is usually fordable there.

Israel statutes and judgments" (Ezra VII. 10). In these words we have the innermost secret of his purpose! He had hitherto been an academic student of the Tôrah. Now he was to become a prominent actor on the stage of the world's religious history. The theatre of his actions was not now to be the study and the fireside, or even the platform of the synagogue, but the throne of David and the platform of the Temple. He came as a deliverer and a restorer, and the Jews would universally welcome him as a man, the first of his caste, whom Jehovah had raised from the dust—

> That He may set him with princes,
> Even with the princes of his people.
>
> (Ps. CXIII. 8.)

The day of fasting and prayer at the beginning of the new exodus was appropriately followed at its termination, on the arrival at Jerusalem, by a great service in the Temple. This service was so ordered as to express the hopes and embody the aspirations of the new governor. It was, in fact, a proclamation to his people of the policy which he came to inaugurate and carry out. Its leading idea was that "the children of the captivity which were come out of exile," being of pure Hebrew blood, represented the true Israel, and as the keepers of the law, were heirs of all the promises. Its note, alas, was one of exclusiveness and privilege.

The thanksgiving service over, a great function of self-dedication was early decided upon, as the most suitable expression of the nation's needs

and hopes, with which to mark the beginning of the new regime. This took the legal form of a great number of burnt sacrifices—the number of sacrificial victims being representative of all the tribes. Twelve of each kind were offered, or multiples of twelve, if we read seventy-two, as in Esdras VII. 66, for seventy-seven, as in Ezra VIII. 35. A sin-offering of twelve he-goats—as at the dedication of the Temple by Zerubbabel—was now made. The other sacrifices were fewer in number, but were of the same kind as then, namely, twelve bullocks, ninety-six rams, seventy-two lambs. The bodies of all these were burnt upon the altar, and not eaten, as were those of the generality of sacrifices. The significance of this State ceremony could not be misunderstood. It was intended as a great act, not now of personal thanksgiving, but of general contrition and repentance on the part of the nation, ordered by its new governor, who provided the victims. It also symbolized the self-dedication of the whole community to the service of Jehovah for the future, and involved the promise of amendment of life and conduct. To do the law and to teach it had been Ezra's resolve as he entered the city of his fathers, and this was a first step in the carrying out of his resolution.

It must have been with more than ordinary curiosity that his earlier official acts were viewed by the older residents. Slackness in carrying out the Temple ritual had become the order of the day, and we can well believe that among both priests and people a certain amount of

resentment was caused by the zeal of the newcomers and by that of their official head, involving as it did their implied condemnation. It was like unto the putting of new wine into old skin bottles, and the result that has become proverbial was likely to follow.

The Temple organization, as expressed in "The Book of Moses" (Ezra VI. 18)—this being a general term for the sacred writings of the Pentateuch—was then overhauled and taken to pieces. The arrival of a number of additional priests, Levites, and Nethinim, who would require to be put into their places, made this necessary. We do not seem to have any record of the settlement *now* made of the courses and divisions of the priests and Levites, as that given in Nehemiah XII. belongs to a later period of Ezra's life, and that in 1 Chronicles IX. to a still later date; the porter-Levites, Akkub and Talmon, appearing in both of these lists.

Copies of the commission of authority given to Ezra were sent to the King's Satrap of the province of Syria, and to the Governor beyond-the-river, both of whom lived in Samaria. The ship of State, now free of her moorings, once more set out on her perilous voyage, freighted with the religious hopes of future happiness for the chosen people of God, and through them for the future generations of mankind.

Ezra's Administration

"Now when these things were done," Ezra set himself to carry out his great task of moral

and national reformation. In such a case there are three potent factors which, working together, make for righteousness. These are the example of those in eminent place, the promulgation and execution of just laws and ordinances, and the living voice of prophet, preacher, or poet.

History affords many examples in which the two former of these conditions have been at work, as in the religious revivals of Asa, Hezekiah, and Josiah; and in spite of their mutual co-operation, the results have been but temporary and partial. It also affords other examples in which, single-handed, some champion of the truth has, unaided, triumphantly succeeded in altering the current of men's thoughts, speech, and conduct, by the living voice and the pen alone.

Unhappily, the reforming governor was unaccompanied by any prophet who could speak authoritatively in thoughts that breathe with denunciation of sin and words that burn with compassionate love. There was no longer any open vision of the divine purity and its requirements. Malachi had up to this time closed the bright procession. Ezra's task was, therefore, foredoomed to a certain amount of failure, as Joshua's and Zerubbabel's undertaking would have failed but for the ministries of Zechariah and Haggai. This, however, was hidden from him; and he began, not by saying that "To obey is better than to sacrifice," and that Jehovah's message was—

> "I desire mercy, and not sacrifice;
> And the knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings":
> (Hosea vi. 6.)

but by building upon the false foundations of racial blood-purity and ritual perfection that had been laid by Zerubbabel.

Some two months after his arrival in Jerusalem, and probably at the feast of Tabernacles, the princes forming his council made a report to him of some cases of social affinity with non-Hebrews, a report based upon the supposition that the "holy seed" had mingled itself with the unholy, by taking of the daughters of the land for themselves and for their sons. There is no mention of the converse. On hearing the report Ezra at once gave way to a paroxysm of grief. He rent his garments. He tore his hair and beard. He sat as one dazed till the time of the evening oblation. He did these things in the court of the Temple and in sight of all the people. It was not a theatrical display, but was publicly done, so as to call the largest amount of attention to the actor and to the emotions of grief by which he was stirred. "A very great congregation of men, and women, and children" gathered together before the Temple (Ezra x. 1) to see the unwonted exhibition.

At the time of the offering of the evening sacrifice the governor fell upon his knees on the Temple steps, and, spreading forth his hands to heaven, uttered a loud and long extemporary prayer, which he afterwards thought of sufficient importance to write out (Ezra ix. 6–15).

So stirred was the audience by the unusual sight and action of the day that one of the returned laymen from Elam, Shecaniah by name,

whose father had married a foreigner as his second wife, rose to his feet and—courtier-like—proposed that instant action be taken, and that such action be the passing of a resolution, accompanied by an individual oath, to put away all non-Hebrew wives and their children which were found among them, and that this resolution have the force of law for all the members of the State. The oath being taken by all those present, Ezra retired to the chamber of Johanan, the son of Eliashib,* in the precinct of the Temple, where he spent the night fasting.

Using his great authority, Ezra, a few days later, issued a proclamation in which he summoned every unsworn married man in the State to attend at Jerusalem, within three days of receiving notice, on pain of having all his goods confiscated and devoted to the service of the Temple. This was done nominally by the counsel of the princes and elders, but every one knew that behind them lay the delegated power of Artaxerxes, King of Persia.

On the twentieth day of the ninth month Chisleu, corresponding to our 10 December, a great assembly met on the Temple hill,† as a result of the proclamation. The early rains of

* Both these men were afterwards high priests (Neh. XII. 23). The chamber used by the former of them was one of the store chambers of the Temple, and was probably the same or a fellow to the one in which the household stuff of Tobiah, the Ammonite, was placed by permission of Eliashib, in the days of Nehemiah (Neh. XIII. 7–9).

† The broad place of the House of God is given in Nehemiah VIII. 1 as being opposite to the water gate. It was the large open space lying to the south of the Temple enclosure. See Plan.

seed-time were falling heavily, but the fiery energy of the governor brooked no delay, and he made an address to the reeking crowds, stating the offence and sin which had brought them together, and urging confession and practical amendment. A murmur of acceptance followed this proposal. One Levite named Shabbethai, and three laymen, one of whom, Meshullam, had made a mixed marriage (Ezra x. 29), publicly opposed the governor's stringent policy (x. 15). They doubtless had many sympathizers in the audience, who in their silence must have felt the fruitlessness of arguing with an autocrat, still more so if he were also something of a fanatic.

A commission was, accordingly, appointed, of which Ezra was president, to examine into the matter and probe it to its depths. This commission sat at Jerusalem, the elders and judges of every city being ordered to attend its sittings, bringing with them every Hebrew who had married a woman of another nationality.

Two months were occupied in its proceedings, which were concluded by the first day of the next year. In this unusual haste we have an evidence of the godly zeal which animated the governor. He was determined that the year, to be officially reckoned as the first of his actual administration, should not dawn upon the land which he governed with this monstrous evil unredressed. The findings of the Court were that 113 cases of such blood-contamination had been proved to its satisfaction. These comprised 4 members of the High Priest's family, 13 priests, 10 Levites, 15 Benjamites, and

71 members of Judah and other tribes. With the record of the names of these defaulters and the houses or clans to which they belonged, the Book of Ezra—priest, scribe, and governor—abruptly closes.

Seeing that these inspired writings contain few moral reflections, and that their writers were content to state facts as they knew them, and to leave the individual conscience of their readers to make their own application of them, it may be permissible to us to look at the narrow severity which characterized Ezra's policy at this time, and say whether, in our opinion, it was, even for that age, justifiable. It is plain that the severest code of social morals was accepted and enforced as the highest standard of action, and that the alien women and their half-alien children were sent away to their own families, to the ruin of the happiness of scores of homes, and to the indignation of their parents, some of whom were Egyptians and Moabites, while others belonged to one or other of the proscribed seven nations of Canaan (Ezra IX. 1).

The fact that the four marriages contracted within the family of the High Priest are stated to have been atoned for by the sacrifice of a ram for each (Ezra X. 19), according to the law of Leviticus XIX. 20–22, shows that the women were abandoned. So in every other case, the alternative being the hard one of excommunication and spoliation.

The same Tôrah to which Ezra had appealed

as the authority for his action provided that Edomites and Egyptians of the third generation of proselytes could be received into Israelite citizenship, even when they had no Hebrew blood in their veins (Deut. XXIII. 7, 8). Marriage with foreigners generally had been permitted by custom —Ruth, the Moabitess, being an ancestress of David. Other cases might be cited, while the law throughout respected and safeguarded the civil rights of all strangers.

Ezra's action in demanding implicit obedience to the letter of the law, which it strained, destroyed its spirit ; and, without doubt, provoked a reaction against his mode of government. To this fact the silence of the last years of his rule bears eloquent testimony. His report of his own doings covers but the first eight months of his residence in Jerusalem—the rest is a blank. Overdoing, as he found, was undoing. With one exception, we know nothing of the last twelve years of his governorship. The fact that, during his lifetime, he was superseded by Nehemiah, is proof that his mission, as a whole, was regarded as a civil failure, and that he was not the man for the crisis in Jewish history which the times demanded.

The exceptional item of history mentioned above as to Ezra's rule arose in this way. Some time during the governorship of Ezra a revolt occurred in the Persian province of Egypt, which, after several years of hard fighting, was put down by the Persian

general, Megabyzos.* Megabyzos was then reappointed Satrap of Syria. Here he aspired to complete independence, and succeeded in defying the great King for several years, and forcing him to agree to his own terms of peace. By these Megabyzos received a full pardon, and was permitted to return to the Court of Artaxerxes, where he continued to reside unmolested.

These open signs of the internal decay and possible break up of the Empire may have suggested to the Jewish people the need for self-protective measures on their part. Accordingly they determined on an effort to repair the city walls—now lying in ruins for more than a century.† It is to the latter part of this period that the misplaced parenthesis of Ezra IV. 7–23 belongs. It narrates how, "in the days of Artaxerxes," a letter, written in Aramaic characters, and expressed in the Aramaic tongue, was sent to the King of Persia from Samaria. Ezra modestly conceals the fact that this episode in the history of Jerusalem occurred during his term of governorship, but so it was. The despatch was a departmental complaint, written by Rehum, the chief official of the Samaritan community, called Chancellor, and Shimsai, the governor's scribe.

* The revolt of Inaros was quelled 453 B.C. (Petrie's *History of Egypt*, III, 370). This was five years after the appointment of Ezra as Governor.

† At the first return from Babylon the Prophet-priest Zechariah had discouraged the idea of rebuilding the city walls, saying that by reason of the multitude of men and cattle therein, Jerusalem should be inhabited as a village without walls; and that Jehovah would be as a wall of fire about her (Zech. II. 4–5).

It derived much of its force from the fact that it claimed to express the views of nine of the nationalities from which the Samaritan colonists had been drawn,* and that it was sent in a covering letter from Mithredath, who may have succeeded Megabyzos in office as Satrap of Syria,† or even have been the same man, under another name.

The letter itself, or a copy of it, must have been seen by Ezra, having probably been sent to him by the King, and is given by him in the original wording.‡ The reply was addressed to the Samaritans, and to the rest of the country beyond the Euphrates, and was probably accompanied by a copy of the charge (Ezra IV. 8–16). It contained an accusation that the Jews under Ezra were engaged in strengthening and repairing the walls of Jerusalem; that the city had a bad reputation in the past; and that, if the work of mural restoration were allowed to go on to completion, the inevitable result would be that

* Among these are found "Archevites," i.e. inhabitants of Erech; "Babylonians," "Elamites," and "Shushanchites," the last from Susa (Ezra IV. 9).

† Bishlam (Ezra IV. 7) is not a proper name, but the *Bishmillah* ("In peace") of the East. It is so rendered in the Septuagint and Syriac versions. Tabeel would in this case be the Secretary of Mithredath or Mithridates.

‡ Ezra IV. 8 to VI. 18 is in the Aramaic or Syriac character, and not in Hebrew. Its final section deals with the immediate events which led up to the completion of the Temple of Zerubbabel. This section begins with the last or twenty-fourth verse of Ezra IV., and has as its subject "the work of the House of God at Jerusalem." The earlier section belongs to the later time of Ezra and Mithredath (Ezra IV. 7–23), and has to do with the "rebellious and bad city," and the finishing of its walls. The two events are quite distinct, and should be dated many years apart, the later one being textually put first, to the embarrassment of the ordinary reader.

Jerusalem would become a nucleus of revolt, and that if such revolt succeeded, the empire would lose all the provinces east of the Euphrates, which had formerly belonged to the Kingdom of David. It is just such a letter as Megabyzos, after his experience of the Egyptian struggle, would write.

It is not to be wondered at that on receipt of this document the King's friendship for the Jews should have received somewhat of a shock. The commission given to Ezra made no mention of the walls of Jerusalem. The task of their repair and restoration was, therefore, a wholly unauthorized one. Natural as was such an exhibition of zeal on his part from a patriotic point of view, it was one which was undertaken without due consideration of permission asked and obtained, and shows Ezra in a very poor light as a statesman and governor. Artaxerxes shows much better in the correspondence. He was compelled to decree the destruction and provisional cessation of the work, *until permission to resume it was obtained from him*. Ezra was thus made to feel his inferior place, both as a subject of the Persian monarch and as a subordinate of the Satrap of Syria. Things remained in this humiliated condition for an unknown length of time, the punctilios of Temple worship being more and more carefully ordered, while the scornful soldiers of Mithridates driving the Jewish labourers from their work on the walls, "by force and power," and burning the newly-built gates, was a sight not to be easily effaced from the memory of the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

It was reported in Susa to sympathetic ears that the Jews of Jerusalem were in great affliction and reproach, the walls of Jerusalem being broken down, and her gates burned with fire (Neh. I. 3).

Ezra's legitimate influence as governor was now largely forfeited, and his position, if not untenable, was one deserving of profound commiseration from those who sympathized at once with his sincerity of patriotic purpose and his profound reverence for the law of God, as the means of his people's regeneration.

It is not surprising, but natural, that as to the history of these troubled years he should be silent, and it is not known whether he resigned office or not. The ecclesiastically-minded governor next appears before us as "Ezra the Priest" and "Ezra the Scribe" (Neh. VIII. 2–4), having been superseded in his eminent office by the layman Nehemiah.

CHAPTER XII

THE FIRST GOVERNORSHIP OF NEHEMIAH

ON the completion of the Temple by Zerubbabel an old ordinance was revived, by which every Jew contributed a small sum annually to its upkeep. This sum was originally fixed, at the census in the wilderness, at half a shekel for each adult male, and was called atonement money (Exod. xxx. 16). During the time of the Kings it became an annual charge. After the repatriation of the people from Babylon the offering, owing to its general non-payment, was lowered to the third part of a shekel (Neh. x. 32), equal in bullion weight to about a shilling of our money. We could hardly have a more convincing proof than this reduction affords of the general and grinding poverty of the masses of the people at the time when it was made.

This atonement money was also collected from those Hebrews who, living in the lands of the East, still wished to keep up their connection with the Temple in Jerusalem. Comparatively large sums were collected in this way, which were annually sent to Jerusalem by a deputation appointed for that purpose.* On one of these

* One such deputation—probably the first—sent after the completion of the Temple, is referred to by the prophet Zechariah (vi. 9–15). It consisted of three members coming from Babylon, who, during their temporary stay in Jerusalem, were entertained in the house of Josiah, the son of Zephaniah.

deputations, sent a few years later than the time of Ezra's appointment, a young man of good family was appointed, whose name was Hanani, a son of Hacaliah (Neh. I. 1 ; VII. 2).

He, with others, then returned to Susa, and reported as to the depressed and deplorable condition in which their brethren in Jerusalem were living. They stated, in particular, that the wall of the city had lately been greatly injured and the woodwork of its gates burned. This could only have been the result of the "force and power" with which the soldiers of Mithridates had compelled Ezra's workmen to cease their labour and had scattered its fruits (Ezra IV. 23). The exhibition of military force at such a time and in such a way toward a provincial governor could not but have a deleterious effect on his influence, as it placed him—quite wrongly—in the position of an apparent rebel against his suzerain. The Satrap of Syria and the Governor of Samaria would not be slow to make the most of their diplomatic victory over Ezra in memory of past insults, notably that as to their lack of racial purity ; and, by aggravating his error in judgment, make him feel his subordinate position as keenly as possible. Hence "the great affliction and reproach" which Hanani reported to his brother Nehemiah, who was a palace official in Susa, and cup-bearer to King Artaxerxes.

With charming simplicity and absence of self-consciousness Nehemiah tells the story of how he became interested in these new developments

of political life in Judea, the persecution of Ezra being then a late event and the chief matter of discouraging news from Jerusalem. In the true spirit of heroism Nehemiah, like Daniel, determined to shoulder the sorrows of his nation and to seek its deliverance from them. To this end he composed an intercessory prayer, which he offered day by day and night by night, with fasting and mourning. This prayer is largely composed of a mosaic of texts drawn from Leviticus (XXVI. 33, 39–42), Deuteronomy (XXX. 4; XII. 5), and other books of the Tôrah, and shows that he was as well acquainted with these writings as we are—or may be (Neh. I. 5–11). Three months passed in these severe spiritual exercises, the depth and fervour of which so told upon his health that the King noticed his altered physical appearance. The great spring feast of the Babylonian year drew on, when, on the first of Nisan (March, 445 B.C.), the King performed certain State ceremonies and gave a great feast to his nobles. On this occasion he audibly remarked on the dejected and emaciated appearance of his favourite attendant as the cup-bearer handed him his wine, the queen sitting by his side. In the brief conversation that ensued Nehemiah, still abstaining from food, gave as the cause of his grief the fact that the city in which were the sepulchres of his ancestors lay exposed to ravage and insult, and that its gates were consumed with fire. As the tombs of David and the other kings of Jerusalem were the only ones allowed within the walls of the city, being cut out of the rock

on the south of the Ophel Hill,* we thus learn that Nehemiah was a member of the royal house, the particular sins of which he had been confessing. This will in part account for the fact of his honourable place in the Persian palace, and for the promotion now to be given to him.

Nehemiah's answer to Artaxerxes recalled to that monarch's mind the rescript which he had felt himself compelled to issue in the late quarrel between Mithridates and Ezra (Ezra iv. 17–23). Here was fitting opportunity to undo its effects, while preserving the authority of the crown,† and at the same time giving play to his goodwill towards the Jewish people, and to Nehemiah in particular.

It was, accordingly, so arranged. Nehemiah's request for permission to amend the evils of which he had complained was granted, and by royal decree he became Governor of Jerusalem for a fixed period, with authority to draw timber from the Sharon and Lebanon forests for these three purposes: first, for the castle at Jerusalem, literally the Birah or Baris, afterwards known as

* The word "Ophel" occurs also in the Hebrew text of 2 Kings v. 24, where it is translated "hill." What is probably meant, in the Gehazi narrative, is the shoulder or lean-to of the house in which Elisha lived, in which would be the room occupied by Gehazi. Thus Ophel in Jerusalem is the "shoulder" of the "Temple Hill."

† Mithridates had before this vacated his satrapship over the governors of Damascus, Hamath, Samaria, and Jerusalem. The supersession of Ezra, about the same time, would be a politic stroke, so as to give Nehemiah a fair field in which to carry out his reforms. It is probable that this is what was done, though Ezra would hold office till the arrival of his successor, and possibly did not know of his own supersession till told of it by Nehemiah.

Antonia, the identity of the two being secured by the fact that it is at this early date spoken of as "appertaining" to the Temple; second, for the completion of the city wall, meaning its gates and bars; and third, for the house which he himself would build in which to live. A letter, signed with the King's seal, was accordingly written to Asaph, keeper of the King's parks, to supply the timber for these purposes, as well as other letters to the trans-Euphrates governors, informing them of Nehemiah's appointment. Ezra's political powers were, of course, to be transferred to his successor. Nehemiah now set out, being accompanied by captains of the army and an escort of cavalry. He at least had some idea of the value of appearances in impressing the imagination of his fellow-men. Ezra, with mistaken humility, had walked his long pilgrimage from Babylon, and, as a priest, had lived in Jerusalem without a special dwelling-house. Nehemiah would travel in semi-state and live in a palace.

Nehemiah's journey from Susa was probably made by stages to Babylon; he would then cross the Euphrates at Tiphsah or Thapsacus, a hundred miles below Carchemish, and travel thence to Damascus. That he visited Samaria on his way to Jerusalem is shown by his mention of Sanballat and Tobiah *before* the mention of his arrival at Jerusalem.

His reception by the Samaritan officials was not cordial, and they took no pains to conceal

the fact that they were "grieved" at his mission and disapproved of the object of it. This was an inauspicious beginning, but the fact that Nehemiah took the opportunity, before beginning his work, of showing them the King's rescript, and of paying them the compliment of a visit, showed them that they had a diplomat to deal with, a man who anticipated and strove to avert their hostility, and a high official who carried with him the favour and trust of their common sovereign.

At Samaria Nehemiah dismissed his escort, as he wished to enter Jerusalem as a private citizen and take stock of its affairs before making known and opening his document of commission. The forty miles which separate the capital from Samaria were thus covered with but one or two attendant horsemen, his brother Hanani being one of them, and the new governor, who evidently had not before visited the city, experienced that strange sensation which all have who know something of its history and enter it for the first time. In his case it was intensified by the fact that he came to seek the, by them unexpected, welfare of his countrymen, and to carry out the ameliorating plans which he believed God had put into his heart. From no one would he receive so warm a welcome as from the much-harassed Ezra, whose thirteen years of rule had ended in so acknowledged a failure. Three days were spent by Nehemiah in informal conferences with Ezra and others, whom he distinguishes as the priests, the nobles, and the deputies—these last being possibly civil representatives of different towns,

resident in Jerusalem. Still he held his secret, and not until he had ridden in the moonlight round about the outside of the city, going out and coming in by what is now the Jaffa gate, did he venture to call a general assembly of the chief men of the nation.

Having satisfied himself, by a midnight tour of personal inspection, that the walls were repairable, it was with some confidence that Nehemiah laid before the meeting his plans for this being done, as well as his sealed authority for the doing of it. The embargo being taken off their repair by the King's commission, Nehemiah proposed that the work of repair should be done by themselves, the requisite timber and stone being the gift of Artaxerxes. The proposal was received with enthusiasm, and elaborate plans were made for a subdivision of the work among volunteers. A great deal of organization was requisite before the forty sections of the wall * were defined and the forty companies of repairers allocated to them. This involved a great deal of travelling to and fro, and much committee work, as the task was divided among gangs of men drawn from almost every city and community of the

* See these numbered and given in Appendix III, pp. 381–6, and described in the map of Jerusalem and its walls, which is here produced. That all prominent men of the community did not assist in the work is shown by the fact that a certain Nehemiah, the son of Azbuk, "ruler of half the district of Beth-zur," near Hebron, repaired the twenty-first section (Neh. III. 16), but no mention is made of his colleague in the headmanship of a place afterwards so famous in the war of Liberation. There were, doubtless, other idlers and shirkers than this Nehemiah's partner in the rule of Beth-zur.

little State. All who shared the toil were voluntary workers, and did their work under their own gangers or foremen.

In a few cases more than one section of repair was executed by the same company of men, thus showing the difficulty under which Nehemiah laboured to get the work done, as it is unlikely that responsibility for more than one section would be *at first* accepted by any of those who, at the outset, made themselves responsible for contributing towards it. Four such duplicate cases are mentioned in Appendix III; they are there numbered 5 and 27, 6 and 38, 8 and 34, 16 and 39.

There were no funds available for the payment of any one, as the finances of the State were at so low an ebb, and Nehemiah does not seem to have brought any money with him. Stone was to be had in the royal quarries close at hand. Timber was to be cut and fetched from Sharon or Lebanon, and it was felt that only by the combined and persistent efforts of all classes—urban, suburban, and rural—could the undertaking be accomplished. Faint echoes of some of the vicissitudes encountered in the task occur in the entries that "the nobles of Tekoa put not their necks to the work of the Lord"; and that Baruch, the son of Zacchai, "earnestly repaired" his portion. Parts of the work were done by mercantile guilds, others by the High Priest, priests and Levites. Sometimes the ruler of a city pledged his fellow-citizens to do a certain share, at other times the community itself has the credit for performing its part. The daughters of one man are mentioned

as assisting their father, and a favourite device was for a man to repair that section of the wall that stood opposite to his own house, and for the priests to repair the parts about the Temple. Thus, by a long pull and a strong pull, and a pull all together, the stonework was begun, and for a time pushed forward.*

As but few of the workmen could have been trained stonecutters, masons, or carpenters, there was much ignorance, unskilfulness and waste, but of these the governor-director—who himself superintended the execution of the work and acted as his own clerk of works—says nothing. What he does record is the scorn poured upon the toilers and their intended work by their enemies. Sanballat and Tobiah were now joined by a third prominent adversary, Geshem, or Gashmu, the Arabian. He with his party now joined the hereditary foes of the Jews, as did the inhabitants of Ashdod, then a coast city at the zenith of its power. The confederation was a strong one, and it did not stay itself at ridicule. The coalition was unofficially headed by Sanballat the Satrap, who made a speech to the militia "army of Samaria," in which he fanned the flames of racial strife, though he dared not himself head an attack on his fellow-subjects.

It became secretly known to Nehemiah that it was agreed by his confederated enemies that a

* A priest named Meremoth, son of Uriah, was especially prominent in this work of repairing the walls. He undertook sections 5 and 27 (Neh. III. 4, 21). On Ezra's arrival he had been the head of the commission of four members appointed to receive the contributions brought from Babylon (Ezra VIII. 33).

sudden and unexpected display of hostile forces outside Jerusalem was to be made, in the hope that such a demonstration and threatened interference would cause a panic among the workers and put a stop to the work. For a brief time this succeeded, as, on the date of the proposed feint assault, the low spaces of the half-built circle of walls were filled with men holding swords and spears and bows, all work being at an end.

Foiled in their plan of a surprise, and unwilling to begin a civil war, the assailants drew off, and time was given for the workers to prepare their plans of self-defence. Those adopted were these. One half of the number of men within the city were told off for its defence, and the other half for the restoration of its walls. No one either walked or worked without carrying his weapon. "Every builder had his sword girded by his side, and so builded."

Another prudent regulation made by Nehemiah required every member of his party to sleep within the limits of the city, so as not to be surprised and cut off by the enemy outside, but to be at hand in case of an attack. These precautions taken show how real and imminent was the danger, and how little respect was paid by these half-wild Bedouin and badly-governed Samaritan settlers to the signature of Artaxerxes.

Owing to these outside difficulties the long-continued strain upon the loyalty of Nehemiah's fellow-subjects within the walls was great, and it is not surprising to read that during these

critical times a tumult arose on the part of some of them against the aristocratic party—these being members of the tribe of Judah, as the governing caste in Jerusalem.

Neither trade nor agriculture was possible while these commotions lasted, and famine had made its appearance in the camp of the city. Houses, vineyards, and fields in the country were being mortgaged to obtain the means of subsistence. Money was being borrowed by the workers to pay the King's tribute, the interest on which loans was one per cent per lunar month, or more than twelve per cent per annum. Those who had neither property nor credit were giving their children as slaves—in security.

Pressed by foes without and disaffection within, Nehemiah first "contended" with the wealthy and ruling classes as to their spirit of greed, and then held a popular assembly "against them." The largeness and importance of the meeting overwhelmed the disapprobation of the influential classes, who, under the pressure of popular opinion and the scathing words of the governor, promised to restore the property over which rights had been unjustly acquired—fields, vineyards, olive-yards, houses—and to keep the law by which interest was not to be exacted from brother Israelites (Deut. XXIII. 19, 20).

The storm of incipient mutiny within the city thus passed over, and the work of repairing the walls was resumed under the stimulus given by the threatened attack, until all the breaches were filled up and the stonework completed. From

this resumption of work, after the public disturbances, until its completion by the hanging of the swinging doors of the gates, fifty-two days passed, the final undertaking being completed on the twenty-fifth day of Elul (August), in spite of repeated attempts at Nehemiah's assassination, the suborning of false prophets and prophetesses to discourage him, and the treasonable efforts of a strong party of the nobles of Judah who were in alliance and communication with the enemy, and whose unpatriotic conduct is explainable only by the fact of their vested financial interests having been interfered with by Nehemiah's patriotic administration of public affairs.

The repaired walls of Nehemiah were those which remained during the four following centuries as the limits of the city. This statement is made on the authority of Josephus, whose testimony on this point is unimpeachable. He had officiated as a priest in the Temple at Jerusalem, and was encamped outside the walls during the siege of Titus. He was thus familiar with every angle and aspect of the walls as they then stood. Their history was known to him better than to any man then living, as he wrote the history of the city in his *Antiquities*. His statement is that "Nehemiah left the walls of Jerusalem as his eternal monument. They were built in the days of Xerxes" (for Artaxerxes) (*Antiquities*, XI. 6, § 8). Often damaged and as often repaired, no addition was made to them, as the outer circumvallation of the city, till Herod Agrippa built the third wall to their north, A.D. 37–44.

Three or four days after the consummation of the great work, accomplished under such an aggregation of difficulties, the new civil year began with the month Tisri, the seventh month of the Church year (Neh. VI. 15). This was the autumn festival, and corresponded to our September, when, all the fruits of the harvest being won, the feast of Tabernacles was kept.* It was because of its approach that the work of several months was crowded into the fifty-two days recorded by Nehemiah. During the few days that followed them there was much to do. A new civic life now animated the citizens of Jerusalem. Hananiah, Governor of the Birah already mentioned, a man of great probity and piety, was given municipal authority over that half of the city which lay to the south of the Temple; and Hanani, brother of the governor, ruled the western half. Under them were a number of Levites, who opened and closed the city gates and policed the town. In addition a system of night guards was instituted, by which, in turn, the inhabitants watched every one over against his own house.

The apportionment of a larger number of Levites from the Temple service, to take charge of the newly-erected city gates, dislocated that service, so that a fresh arrangement of porters, singers, and Levites had to be made. Some de-

* Psalm CXLVII. bears internal evidence of having been written about this time. Citations from verses 2, 12, 13 are :—

The Lord doth build up Jerusalem :
He gathereth together the outcasts of Israel.
. . . Praise thy God, O Zion,
For He hath strengthened the bars of thy gates.

tails of this settlement are given in 1 Chronicles IX., where the porters for the city gates are distinguished from the keepers of the gates of the Temple (verses 18, 19)—the old historic phrases "camp" and "tabernacle" being used in each case, as referring to the time when the city was still unguarded by complete walls. The whole number on duty at any one time in Temple and city had originally been 212 * (verse 22). This was increased by Nehemiah to 284, 172 of whom were engaged in patrolling and guarding the city (Neh. XI. 19), leaving 112 for the Temple—as had been done from the time of its opening by Solomon.

The walls and outer gates having been secured and the streets policed, the dismantled and ruined condition of the interior of the city now claimed Nehemiah's attention. "The city was wide and large; but the people were few therein,

* This figure of the chronicler is to be corrected for a slightly later date by that in Neh. XI. 18–19, which tells us that all the Levites in the holy city were 284, and that those who kept watch at the city gates were 172. There was thus a balance of 112 on duty in the Temple after the rearrangements. Both the narrative in Chronicles and that in Nehemiah give the names of Akkub and Talmon as the chiefs of the city police, showing that nearly the same period is referred to by each of the books, and that before the building of the city walls and gates 100 Levites had formed the police of the city (212 – 112 = 100). The guardianship of the new gates thus required an addition of 72 police for their care. *At both periods* the number allocated to the guardianship of the Temple was 112. It has been shown in *The Tabernacle*, pp. 75–7, that at the opening of Solomon's Temple there were 96 Levites always detailed for duty there, who were divided into four companies of 24 each. This arrangement was now continued, as is shown by the 24 lodges on the plan of Ezekiel's Temple. The balance of 16 to make up the number of 112 was probably composed of permanent officials who lodged in the priestly and Levitical chambers of the Temple (Ezek. XLV. 5; 1 Chron. IX. 27, 33).

and the houses were not builded." * He, accordingly, determined upon a census of the population being taken, as a preliminary step toward filling up the capital. As a basis of comparison, he had before him the record of the census of a century before, already given by Ezra in chapter II., and repeated in Nehemiah, chapter VII.

Before a new enumeration could be taken, the time of the autumn feast drew on, and it was resolved, as a beginning, that a census should be taken of all the inhabitants of the State, the heads of which attended the feast, and that an effort, based on these returns when completed, should be made to induce a larger section of the population to dwell within the walls of the new-found city than was then doing so. The filling up of the vacant lots in the streets of the city and the taking of the new register were thus intimately connected.

We have no *textual* means of knowing in what year of Nehemiah's governorship the city walls were completed, or to what year the "seventh month" of the sentence before Nehemiah VIII. 1 belonged. There are, however, data for believing that the great work of mural restoration which he achieved covered most, or all but one, of the twelve recorded years of his first appointment, and was

* This sentence (Neh. VII. 4) is the severest condemnation we have of the thirteen years of Ezra's rule. His was a purely ecclesiastical mind, and one that was unable to grapple with or see the importance of such mundane affairs as sanitation, markets, traffic, and population. He had no administrative talent.

completed only some twelve months before his departure (Neh. v. 14). One of these indications lies in the fact that the autobiographer does not tell what period he asked for, as the "set time" of his absence from Susa, during this his first commission as Governor (II. 6). Whatever the number of years asked of Artaxerxes by Nehemiah, he must have obtained by letter an extension of his term of office, when he saw how slowly the work was progressing, and with how many difficulties it was surrounded.

Another indication of the length of time taken is to be found in the fact that before beginning his great work of city restoration Nehemiah had his own house built. This we know from the fact that timber was granted him for this purpose, and that, during the rising of the populace against the aristocratic oligarchy, the governor stated that he daily provided at his own table for more than 150 free diners. He was thus not only a liberal but a wealthy man, as he drew no salary from the little State,* because he saw that it was already overtaxed. His house was, therefore, a large one, and was already built at the time of the riots.

It is probable that in obtaining a further lease of power Nehemiah did so upon the condition that as soon as his mission was fulfilled, in the terms of his appointment, he was to return to Susa. He certainly remained to take part in

* Incidentally we are told that the governors preceding Nehemiah had drawn pay at the rate of 40 shekels of silver *per diem* (Neh. v. 15).

the dedication of the walls,* and we catch a last sight of him in the procession and in the thanksgiving and other services in the Temple that followed it (Neh. XII. 40). He may have left the city within a day or two after these public duties, in fulfilment of his promise to the King. This is the more likely, as the priestly tone of the administration in the records immediately reappears, with its attendant ecclesiastical evils, from which evils Nehemiah afterwards shakes himself free in the words, "But in all this time I was not at Jersualem; for . . . I went unto the King" (Neh. XIII. 6). Being sent to administer the city and kingdom for a specific object, and that object being much delayed in accomplishment, it is only in harmony with the practical tone of Nehemiah's mind, and with his keen sense of honour and loyalty, that he should return to Court with as little delay as possible, on the crown being put to his work in the dedication of the city walls. Hence it appears that the public service of dedication did not for some months follow the completion of the walls—as much work of civic and social organization remained to be done.

The dedication of the walls may have taken place at the next annual festival of Booths after their completion.†

* The building of the walls is narrated in Neh. III. to VI., while their dedication and the accompanying events cover chapters VIII., IX., and X. This is the true order of events.

† The mention of the month Elul as that in which the walls were completed (Neh. VI. 15) is decisive as to the season of the year being autumn when it was done. See note on the months of the Babylonian and Jewish year appended to chap. I. of *Solomon's Temple*, pp. 69–70.

This would bring the dedicatory service to the great autumn feast—the beginning of the civil year—and be in harmony with all previous similar dedications. In this way a temporal space of twelve months is found for the civic reforms instituted by Nehemiah between the completion of the walls and their dedication. This dedication was *preceded* by a number of events in Jerusalem, following their completion, which events now call for attention. These are textually grouped about the festival of the seventh month of the year, being the first of Nisan of the Babylonian year, or the Eastern New Year's Day.

We have already seen that the walls were hurriedly completed three or four days—the months being lunar—before the prime festival of the year, that being the feast of Tabernacles, with its solemn accompaniment of the great Day of Atonement. As to this calendar-point the use of the name Elul is decisive, that being the Babylonian *Ululu*, which corresponded with our August, and was the sixth month of the Jewish Church year (Neh. VI. 15).

It appears that the dedication of the walls was not made at the immediately ensuing spring festival after their completion. Civic government for the reconstituted city had to be arranged, and, what was of more urgency and required more time, the making of a fresh genealogy of the people. In order to effect this, Nehemiah gathered together the nobles and deputies and people,

and reckoned them—clan by clan and family by family (Neh. VII. 5). Unhappily the memoirs do not give us—in a formal statement—the results of this census. Instead, Nehemiah contents himself with reciting the terms of the first genealogy made by Zerubbabel, which we already have in Ezra. The recitation of this catalogue is intended to show that it formed the basis of the new census, and that the domestic events of the last hundred years alone were added to it. Even this tribal purview would take a considerable time—the whole being committed to writing for future use, as a permanent record. By a people so zealous of their blood-purity as were the Jews, and in the circumstances in which they now found themselves, surrounded by aliens and half-castes, we may be sure that the utmost care was taken in the compilation, so as to secure accuracy of statement and careful examination of individual claims.

A curious coincidence exists between the words following Zerubbabel's record of numbers as given by Ezra and that following Nehemiah's transcript of the same document, given by himself. This coincidence is in the versions marred by the fact that it is, in each case, cut into sections by the insertion of a chapter-heading. Freed from this cause of obscurity, and in order that it may appeal to the eye, the similar statements are here placed in parallel columns, thus :—

Ezra II. 70–III. 1–6	Neh. VII. 73–VIII. 1–4
"So the priests, and the Levites, and some of the people, and the singers, and the porters, and the Nethinim, and all Israel dwelt in their cities.	"So the priests, and the Levites, and the porters, and the singers, and some of the people, and the Nethinim, and all Israel dwelt in their cities.
"And when the seventh month was come, and the children of Israel were in the cities, the people gathered themselves together as one man *to Jerusalem. Then stood up Joshua . . . and builded the altar . . . but the foundation of the temple was not yet laid.*"	"And when the seventh month was come, the children of Israel were in their cities. And all the people gathered themselves together as one man *into the broad place that was before the water gate. . . . And Ezra . . . brought the law before the congregation . . . upon the first day of the seventh month. And he read therein . . . and stood upon a pulpit of wood.*"

So close a coincidence as we have here between the narration of events that happened more than a century apart is more than an illustration of the intense literary conservatism of the day. It is also a demonstration of the fact that the dedicatory services now about to be held in the sanctification of the city walls took place in the

autumn of the year, and in the same month as the re-erection of the great altar at the time of the first return. The ingathering feast officially began on the fifteenth day of Tisri (September), and lasted to its twenty-second day, being preceded by the only fast appointed by the law, which was held on the tenth day of the same month (Lev. xvi. 29 ff).

The public services on this occasion—as on that in Zerubbabel's time—began on the first day of the month (Neh. viii. 2). On the second day it would appear that the public reading of the Book of Deuteronomy reached the sixteenth chapter—a passage of which enjoined the construction of booths in which to dwell for eight days. This ordinance had not been carried out, nor even attempted, during the governorship of Ezra, and many of the people were in ignorance of its existence. Smitten with compunction for past neglect, they used the time between the second and the fifteenth day in preparing temporary dwelling-places, so as to keep the feast of Booths in such circumstances as the law required. There is, therefore, no doubt that the dedication of the walls occupied a portion of the time which intervened between the opening of the first month of the civil year and its tenth day, when the fast was held.

If, then, the walls were finished in time for one Hebrew Harvest-home, as we have seen, and were dedicated at another similar festival, it is certain that a year at least must have elapsed between the two events. Such a space of time is requisite

in which to place the political events that followed Nehemiah's great building operation. This deduced year is to be reckoned as the last of the "twelve years" which Nehemiah tells us he spent in the service of the State (Neh. v. 14; xiii. 6).

The week or more of time which intervened between the feast of the September new moon and the Day of the Atonement was appropriately used, by those arrived and arriving in Jerusalem, in hearing the book of the law publicly read. The original command was that this was to be done at the end of every seventh year (Deut. xxxi. 10), but in course of time it became the custom to do it every year. Ezra, therefore, as the principal and most learned cleric in Jerusalem, though not High Priest, assembled the people—men, women, and children of an age to understand—in the broad space to the south of the Temple.

Here was erected a pulpit of wood, on either side of which stood six Levites * of his chief supporters. The High Priest, Eliashib, was not present, but "Nehemiah, which was the Tirshatha," gave the meeting the sanction of his presence and his speech.

The book read was that of Deuteronomy, as is shown by the fact that it was the one commanded to be read (Deut. xxxi. 9–13), and further that,

* Of the twelve names given, we find *four* mentioned among the Levites in Neh. ix. 5, and *seven* others among the Levites in Neh. x. 9–14.

as we have seen, on the second day of the reading the sixteenth chapter was reached—which enjoins that the feast of Booths or Tabernacles was to be kept, when the fruits of the land were gathered in. The mode of instruction was painfully slow and laborious. Ezra read the Hebrew text; one of the Levites at his side then caused the people to understand the law by giving a paraphrase and exposition of it in the Syrian or Aramaic dialect, which had been learnt in Babylon. It is probable that during these twelve intervening days, "from early morning until midday," Deuteronomy was read twice or thrice, so as to give every one an opportunity of hearing it. The effect was that "the people wept when they heard the words of the law." They were, however, soothed and "stilled," and told that tears were unseemly on such a day, and to rejoice because of the refounding of the city, and of the new era, in the dawn of which they were standing.

Throughout the long series of services, following the completion and rededication of the walls, which had lasted three weeks, at the close of the year, a tender and gracious spirit had been apparent in the audiences. The reading of the Book of Deuteronomy "from the first day unto the last day" was accompanied by contrition of heart and visible sorrow for past sins. "All the people wept when they heard the words of the law." And though, for the time, the conductors of the meetings comforted the people, bidding

them not be grieved, for joy in God was their strength—the command for this season being, "Thou shalt be altogether joyful" (Deut. xvi. 15)—this but intensified the suppressed emotion which called for ultimate relief.

It is to be observed that this revival of spiritual life began on the "first day of the seventh month" (Neh. viii. 2). On this and following days the book of the law was read, which produced such unwonted effects. On the tenth day was the great fast. From the fifteenth to the twenty-second day the feast of Tabernacles was kept, closing with a holy convocation by the general assembly, according to the ordinance of Leviticus (cf. John vii. 37).

During all this time the tide of holy feeling had been rising and spreading, and it was felt that the hour had come for the initiation of one of those national movements which were echoes of the covenant of Sinai, and which had but occasionally found a place in the nation's history. Joshua, as one of the last official acts of his life, had held such a service (Josh. xxiv. 25). Asa signalized the abolition of official idolatry in his realm by such a service (2 Chron. xv. 12). Jehoiada, at the restoration of the royal line of David, had held such a service (2 Kings xi. 17). The time and the occasion now again called for such a service in Israel. The prepared heart of the people demanded it. Nehemiah and Ezra were heartily in favour of it, and the day following the convocation of the last day of the feast was fixed for it.

On such voluntary and special occasions alone was it usual to enter the Holy of Holies and withdraw from it for but a few hours the original of the sacred manuscript of the Book of Exodus, whose place of keeping was originally beside, but afterwards within, the Ark of the Covenant (1 Kings VIII. 21). This it was now determined to do, and for the first time, the men of that generation heard the words of the Book of the Covenant written by Moses in the days of their forefathers.*

The usual day for the dispersion of the multitude after this annual assembly was "the three-and-twentieth day of the seventh month" (2 Chron. VII. 10). It was, therefore, as is stated, a day later, namely on the four-and-twentieth day (Neh. IX. 1), that the separated seed of Israel, fasting, met early in the Temple courts, clothed in sackcloth, and with earth upon their heads. The order of service began with the reading of the sacred roll of Exodus. This was accomplished in three hours, say from 6 to 9 a.m.—the morning sacrifice having taken place before sunrise, as was customary. A similar time was spent in acts of confession and prayer—the official supplication being given in Nehemiah IX. 6–38. It was now noon, and much remained to be done, ere the covenant engagement should be complete.

The scene of the covenant was within the court of the Temple, and from the gallery above the

* For this view of the Book of the Covenant see the volume of this series on *Solomon's Temple*, chap. VI. pp. 170–9.

stairs of the Levites,* the words of the covenant now to be made were read aloud, and the roll on which was written the new form of the covenant was sealed by the heads of the people. The 82 seals attached to it represented the civil and spiritual heads of the State: 22 of these were representative priests, 17 representative Levites, and 43 representative laymen—all of whom were heads of fathers' houses. The High Priest's name is again conspicuous by its absence. That of Ezra was included in the family of Seraiah, of the course of Jediah to which he belonged (Ezra II. 36). The rest of the people—priests, Levites, porters, singers, and Nethinim—subscribed their names to the covenant, but did not seal it. Of course, there were in every class some abstentions, and to the cause of Eliashib's manifest hostility we may attribute the absence of three representative names from the list of 24 priestly courses.† The articles of the supplementary covenant now taken were six in number—

1. An oath against the making of mixed marriages.

* The accompanying plan shows that there were galleries on either side of the Levitical Chambers. The vacant area on the south side being larger than that on the north, the gallery above the southern stairs is probably meant.

† See the individual list of twenty-two prominent priests who sealed, each representing one of the courses, given in the note to chap. IX. p. 168, column 4, one of these names being a substitute for that of the official head. The probable cause of the three absent names is given in a footnote there, it being singular that these names are those of the three courses which, living in Jerusalem (Neh. XI. 10; 1 Chron. IX. 10), were more immediately under the influence of the hostile High Priest, Eliashib. Two of the courses were named Jediah, one of which was an abstention from the covenant. To the other Jediah course Ezra belonged.

2. Sabbath and holy days were to be kept.

3. The sabbatical seventh year was to be observed, according to the prescriptions of Deuteronomy xv. 1–6.

4. A reduced Temple contribution was to be paid yearly.

5. Wood was to be provided for the sacrificial altar.

6. First-fruits and tithes were to be regularly paid for the support of the Temple clergy.

During the long day in which these promises were made the worshippers had fasted and clothed themselves with sackcloth and ashes. All then returned at nightfall to their houses with a chastened and yet hopeful spirit. The repeated statement that those who took part in this solemnity were those only who had separated themselves from the peoples of the lands, is indicative of the fact that there were many who refused to enter into the serious obligations of the covenant. Still, it was a forward step for the nation, and, without doubt, the greatest day in the life of Ezra, as the day of the dedication of the walls had been in the history of Nehemiah. The cordial co-operation in the work of God of two men of such varied talent is one of the most delightful memories in the history of those times, as the day of the covenant itself was one of the most important in the history of the restored remnant.

The Census taken by Nehemiah

Between the two or three weeks taken up by the public religious services just described, and the yearly festival of spring which had followed the completion of the walls, a number of enumerators had been told off to make lists of all the dwellers in Jerusalem and of those who lived in the neighbouring country towns.

Portions of these lists, i.e. those containing their summaries, are preserved—so far, at least, as they applied to the capital. The first of them is given in 1 Chronicles IX., and recounts the number of "first inhabitants" or settled residents of Jerusalem. The Judahites are first mentioned. Of the descendants of Shelah ("Shilonites"), Perez, and Zerah—the three sons of Judah—there were resident in Jerusalem at this time, as foundation settlers, 690 male adults. Of Benjamites, Jerusalem lying within the limits of their tribe, there were 956 heads of houses, giving a total of 1646 laymen, besides their women and children. These were Jerusalem citizens at the time of the census.

Of the 24 courses of priests, three—Jediah, Jehoiarib, and Jachin—had their residences in the capital, with a total of 1760 men able to take their part in the service of the House of God.* The number of Levites, porters, and singers † is not given, but it could not have been

* The definite statement of Ezra is that they were "very able men for the work of the service of the House of God" (1 Chron. IX. 13). They were his contemporaries.

† "The singers had builded them villages round about Jerusalem" (Neh. XII. 29).

a large one, as 284 gatekeepers were always on duty, and these came up from the country in weekly instalments of this number. The Nethinim alone, of this class of Temple servitors, lived in Jerusalem, a portion of the Ophel hill being reserved for their dwellings.

Jerusalem was thus a city of ecclesiastics, two men out of every three being clerics of one kind or another, and connected with the Temple.

It was this aspect of the population which had long troubled Nehemiah. There were large open spaces within the walls which were unoccupied. Ruins, overgrown with grass and brushwood, abounded. The streets were largely vacant and unused.

Having, by the restoration of its walls, made Jerusalem a secure place in which to live, he was anxious to secure its future stability and prosperity by adding to its civil population. An appeal was, therefore, made to the crowds who came to see the restored walls at the feast of the seventh month, for volunteers to dwell within the city. Some few came forward, for " The people blessed all the men that *willingly offered themselves* to dwell in Jerusalem " (Neh. xi. 2). The number of such was, however, wholly inadequate to the needs of the day, so that some form of moral compulsion had to be exercised in order to fill up the blanks in the city streets. No details are given as to how the result was finally arrived at, that one-tenth of the urban population should live in the capital city.

The country people, however, themselves would

cast lots, each in his own village, to bring one in ten of their number to dwell in Jerusalem, now first called "The Holy City." The result of this forced appeal is given in the memoirs of Nehemiah, chapter xi., where we are told that 468 men of the tribe of Judah "dwelt," i.e. came to dwell, in Jerusalem, together with 928 Benjamites. The total is 1396. If these were ten per cent of the countrymen, it shows that they numbered some 14,000 heads of families, which is not an unfair estimate when we remember that, a century before, Zerubbabel's host contained only 21,285 male adults above twenty years of age, who were not of the clerical caste, and that of these some settled in Jerusalem, and the descendants of others, living in the country, would refuse to submit to the sortilege instituted at the instance of Nehemiah.

If, to the lay total of 1646 males already resident in Jerusalem, we add the 1396 produced by the conscription, we have a total of 3042 as the non-clerical citizens of the new Jerusalem. "This would give a total Israelitish population of about 15,000. In addition to this there were the servants or slaves" (Dr. Sayce).

We catch the distant echo of a controversy which raged about this time, in the chapter which gives us these particulars. It was as to the right of the Temple singers to partake of the Temple offerings, as did the other Levites. No parties to it are mentioned, but they may easily be divined. The Sadducean High Priest, Eliashib,

now disgraced his office, and—as afterwards appears—it was he who refused these servants of the Temple their constitutional right to eat of the things of the altar—though the refusal may have come down from the time of Zerubbabel's death.

Nehemiah and Ezra would be his opponents. No superior authority existing locally, the matter was referred to Artaxerxes, through the resident Jewish Commissioner at Susa. On the appeal reaching him, the King gave a commandment concerning them, and made a sure ordinance that they were to have a settled provision as every day required (Neh. xi. 23, 24).

It is this decision of the great King that gives point to the statement of Nehemiah xii. 47, that, as in the days of Zerubbabel, so in the days of Nehemiah, all Israel gave daily portions to the singers and the porters. From this it seems that Ezra had not been able to enforce this elementary Temple regulation, in face of the veto of his ecclesiastical superior—the High Priest.

Other particulars of the Temple settlement made at the time of Nehemiah's departure are given in his memoirs (Neh. xi. 10–22). From them we learn that there were added to those already in Jerusalem 822 additional priests of the courses of Jediah, Joiarib, and Jachin, 242 of the course of Pashur, and 128 of the course of Immer. These, with the 1760 already there, made a grand total of 2952, compared with the 4289 who had accompanied Zerubbabel.

Of Levites, 284 were always on duty, the residue

of both priests and Levites living on their own suburban properties, as did the bulk of the civilians. The only exception was the Nethinim, or dedicated servants of the Levites, who, as body servants of the Temple, lived on the slope of Ophel. That the priests and Levites acted in turn, by their courses, is not only so stated in Chronicles (1, IX. 25), but is shown in the statement that certain courses of Levites who belonged to the soil of Judah were transferred to the neighbourhood of Bethlehem (Neh. XI. 36), where they formed the villagers of the Netophathites.

The chronicler here supplements the memoirs of Nehemiah by telling us that certain Levites had set offices or permanent appointments. Of these were the "four chief porters," who were over the store chambers and Temple treasuries, and several other Temple officials.* But that their brethren, i.e. the ordinary police, gatekeepers, and singers came in, every seven days, from time to time, to be with them (1 Chron. IX. 23–34). The 284 Levites, like the 212 before them, were thus not permanent residents of Jerusalem, and cannot be reckoned with the 2952 priests and 3042 laymen as dwellers in the city. When Nehemiah's plans for filling up the population of the city were completed, there were, perhaps, including the Nethinim, 20,000 souls within its walls. Thus Jerusalem again became a joy of many habitations, with children

* The number of settled appointments of Levites who lodged in the Temple has already been shown to be sixteen, of whom four were always on duty (note, p. 221).

playing in her streets, and old men and women sitting in their doorways leaning on their staves for very age (Zech. VIII. 4, 5). The early prophet's hopeful vision of the future was thus fulfilled, and Nehemiah was a thankful and supremely happy man as he rode out of the city and looked around him, on that autumn morning when he left for his far-off home. The year was the thirty-second of the reign of Artaxerxes, and the 432nd before Christ.

NOTE

ON THE PERSIAN GOVERNOR'S SEAT IN JERUSALEM

In Nehemiah III. 7 the A.V. tells us that the men of Gibeon and of Mizpah repaired the length of wall between the old gate and the "throne of the Governor-beyond-the-River," a passage which the R.V. spoils by the interpolation of some words. The approximate situation of this palace can be seen marked on the N.W. corner of the large plan of Jerusalem herewith, confirmed by item 10 of Appendix III.

What to us is of more historical value than the recovery of the site, is the knowledge that Sanballat and his associate governors had an official residence in Jerusalem, to which they might at any time repair, and watch events (cp. Note on p. 380).

CHAPTER XIII

NEHEMIAH'S SECOND GOVERNORSHIP

IN the second and third appendices to this volume—associated with a plan of the walls and gates of Jerusalem, *temp.* Nehemiah to Josephus, —a new attempt has been made to appraise the archæological value of the topographical details of Jerusalem contained in the Book of Nehemiah. To these I must therefore refer the reader for particulars of the city's topography. At this point I need only say that his first mission being accomplished, in the restoration and peopling of the city, Nehemiah left Jerusalem and returned to the Court of Susa. The history of the day on which the dedication of the walls took place is written by him in the first person singular, and is contained in verses 27–43 of his twelfth chapter.*

On Nehemiah's departure a new era began for Jerusalem. No successor had been appointed, and Ezra, though living, had retired into private and studious life. It was inevitable that a period of reaction should now set in, as the unfaithful

* Besides this, chapters I. 1 to VII. 5 are from the pen of Nehemiah. His memoir is resumed at XIII. 4 and continued to the end of the book. The author of Chronicles is supposed to have supplied the other portions of the book. He must have been a contemporary of Nehemiah, or have written from contemporary records, and was probably Ezra, the priest and scribe of the period.

High Priest, Eliashib, became, in virtue of his office, the local head of the Jewish State. "The days of Nehemiah the Governor, and of Ezra the priest, the scribe," in their different capacities as governors, are referred to in Nehemiah XII. 26 as being past, and as being days of order and of purity in comparison of those which followed.

In order to bring before us the chaotic state of affairs which resulted from the new reactionary rule, the compiler of this non-biographical portion of the Book of Nehemiah gives us a general view of the administration when the late governor had vacated his office. The phrase "On that day," in XII. 44 and again in XIII. 1, is not an allusion to the day of rejoicing at the dedication of the walls mentioned in the previous verses, but a general definition of time, and refers to the happy condition of things produced earlier by the collaboration of Nehemiah and Ezra, as founded on the rule of Zerubbabel. The first-fruits and the tithes were then regularly brought into the storehouses of the Temple, and there were provisions in kind for all those entitled to them. Singers and gatekeepers are specially mentioned as receiving their daily portions, for a reason which will presently appear.

As another reminiscence of the brilliant past, the collaborator of Nehemiah mentions the successful movement which had formerly been made against heathen marriages, when the mixed multitude was separated from the true Israel.

In recounting these triumphs of past administrations the writer constructively tells us that

the passage of the Tôrah which had caused the weeping, on the day when Ezra read to the people standing in the square before the Water Gate, was Deuteronomy xxiii. 3–6, as it is the only book of the Tôrah which contains the following prohibition :—

"An Ammonite or a Moabite shall not enter into the Assembly of the Lord; even to the tenth generation shall none belonging to them enter into the Assembly of the Lord for ever; because they met you not with bread and with water, when ye came forth out of Egypt, and because they hired against thee Balaam . . . to curse thee."

This passage it was which caused the people to "weep when they heard the words of the Law" (Neh. xiii. 1–3). No such prohibition appearing in Exodus, this citation is important, as it shows that Deuteronomy is "the book of the law of Moses which the Lord had commanded to Israel" (Neh. viii. 1), and also the "book of Moses" (Neh. xiii. 1), which was uniformly read to the people once a year, and with which they were most fully acquainted. Its comparatively spiritual character entitled it to this publicity and distinction, and also accounts for the effect produced by its recital.*

It may be remarked, as a modern and Western opinion, that the action of those Jews who married foreign women was rightly to be condemned only upon the ground that such women

* On the structure of the Book of Deuteronomy, see *Solomon's Temple*, pp. 186–92.

were not required *before marriage* to be proselytes to the Jewish faith, as were Rahab the Canaanitess, Ruth the Moabitess, and Maachah the Geshurite, whom David married. And the action of Zerubbabel and Ezra, of which they themselves thought so highly, is censurable upon the ground that before expelling such women and their children from the Assembly (not congregation) of Israel, they were not given an opportunity of forsaking their idols and becoming worshippers of the true God. Had this been done maternal affection would, no doubt in many cases, have triumphed over early religious training, and they might have remained in their homes. All, however, were ruthlessly expelled from them.

This action, however, has the full approval of the redactor of Nehemiah XII. 44 to XIII. 3, and is recounted by him in these verses in order to show that after Nehemiah's departure from Jerusalem such purity was not maintained, and that a period of apostasy from the law in this particular was then entered on.

In Nehemiah XIII. 4 Nehemiah's memoirs are resumed. He had returned to Susa, where—new conditions arising in Jerusalem—his influence with Artaxerxes had obtained for him permission again to go to Jerusalem as Governor. The King had yet seven or eight years to reign after the two-and-thirtieth year in which Nehemiah had returned to Susa. It was during the earlier of these years that Eliashib became the resident ruler of the little ecclesiastically-minded State.

The retention of the words "before this," in Nehemiah XIII. 4, shows the exactness with which their following extract from Nehemiah's writings is reproduced, as they have no reference to the events of the immediately preceding verses.

On assuming rule over the Temple as High Priest and head of the sole remaining authority in Jerusalem, Eliashib's first action had been to reverse the decision of Artaxerxes on the appeal —as to the sustenance of the singers from the Temple offerings. This he did by abolishing the office of the treasurers of the two storehouses of the gates, in which the offerings in kind were stored. This appears, from the statement of Nehemiah XII. 44, that such men were appointed in the past, compared with XIII. 13, in which Nehemiah tells us that he reappointed these officers. With the abolition of the official receivers for the people's first-fruits and tithes, all such contributions perforce ceased, and the storehouses for their reception were closed. The Temple services as a consequence could not be properly carried on, as "the Levites and singers that did the work were fled every one to his field." The offerings in kind were of these descriptions: corn, wine, and oil for the support of the Levites, and wave offerings from the bodies of animals sacrificed, for the support of the priests. All the former were peremptorily stopped, and the activities of the Temple services must have been reduced almost to extinction. The daily sacrifices may still have been offered, and the duties of the High Priest, as on the great Day of

Atonement, may have been gone through, but in a formal manner, and with a greatly reduced number of worshippers. Eliashib's conduct in this particular can be explained only by supposing him to have been a man without any such vital religious feeling as was then possible. In its place was a spurious humanitarianism, which decreed that the people were already sufficiently taxed by the Persian tribute, and that the support of so great a number of Temple officials was a needless drain upon their limited resources. Further, they had made enormous sacrifices in the late past in rebuilding the walls of the city, and in the making, by a national covenant, of extensive provision for the Temple services. These last calls upon their charity should not have been made. He himself had not at the time favoured them. He had not sealed the covenant framed by Nehemiah, nor had he taken any part in the cruel action of divorcing all foreign wives. His conduct in openly opposing the policy of Nehemiah had made him many enemies. He, however, was the true friend of the people, the proof of which he gave in easing their estates of these needless exactions. Such may have been Eliashib's defence, as it is gathered from his deeds.

It will be remembered that twenty-five years before this time four members of the High Priest's family, whose names are given in Ezra x. 18, were reported as having married strange women. They were all relations of Eliashib, being probably his brothers, uncles, or cousins. Owing possibly to these connections, further family alliances with

the heathen were now made—one of which, in particular, may have led to Nehemiah's return.

Tobiah, an Ammonite, who held a high official place in Samaria, had married a Jewess, a daughter of Shecaniah, an Arahite * (Neh. VI. 18); and Tobiah's son, Jehohanan, had married another Jewess, the daughter of Meshullam, the son of Berechiah. Both the fathers-in-law, Shecaniah and the Levite Meshullam, were persons of high rank, and the latter had taken a lead in repairing a portion of the city walls (Neh. III. 30). On Nehemiah's departure Tobiah, with these family connections, came to Jerusalem possibly as a political guest, and, for his reception and occupation, Eliashib had prepared one of the two great chambers or storehouses which stood upon the Temple mount and near the south gate of the enclosure.† These barns were now vacant, there being, as we have seen, no contributions from the people, such as they were built to hold, and Eliashib saw no reason why one of them should not be used for the entertainment of a friendly noble, who was also a relative.

The prolonged entertainment of an Ammonite "in the courts of the House of God," in a chamber

* He is so named to distinguish him from the Shecaniah who was of royal blood (1 Chron. III. 22). The children of Arah were a clan of Judahites who had returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra II. 5).

† Neh. III. 30 and XII. 25. That the same storehouse is referred to in each of these passages is likely from the fact that Meshullam "kept the ward" in each of them, and may have had the official care of both rooms. In the last-named passage alone they are designated "The storehouses of the gates." He had repaired that portion of the wall which was opposite to the chamber under his care. See Appendix III, item 38.

which was the fellow one to, if not the same as that occupied by Jehohanan,* the grandson of Eliashib, in which Ezra had once taken refuge (Ezra x. 6), gave great and just offence to the religious purists of the day.

To no one would the scandal and sacrilege of this action of the High Priest be so great as to the ex-governor, Ezra.

He had spent the best years of his life in endeavouring to secure the sanctity and reverence of the Temple and the due observance of Ezekiel's law of area-holiness (Ezek. XLIII. 12). Now he had lived to see the successor in office of Aaron, and a member of the house of Zadok, expel the whole body of Levites from their places in the Temple courts, and lodge one of the bitterest foes of their faith and practice, in the person of Tobiah, in one of their official apartments.

What so natural as that Ezra's mind should revert to that old contest with Eliashib, in which an appeal had been made by himself and Nehemiah to the King? It is not without meaning that in recording the decision in that case the writer says that Artaxerxes gave a commandment and made a "sure," or permanent, "ordinance," that daily provision was to be made for the singers (Neh. XI. 23). Eliashib's action towards them was thus not only a breach of the Judaic

* Eliashib had an only son, Joiada, and two grandsons named Manasseh (outlawed by Nehemiah) and another variously named Jehohanan, Johanan, and Jonathan (Neh. XII. 11, 22, 23). Meshullam was a prominent citizen and a grandson of the first Jewish envoy at the Persian court. His daughter married a son of Tobiah, also named Jehohanan (Neh. III. 4, 30; VI. 18).

code, but also a defiance of the King's ruling. In the light of Nehemiah's first action on his return it can hardly be a matter of uncertain speculation that Ezra, in the bitterness of his soul, wrote an account of these things to his old associate, Nehemiah, now in his place in the Court of Persia. Representations in the same sense would be made to the King by his cup-bearer. Nehemiah's brief and charitable statement is, "After certain days I asked leave of the King; and I came to Jerusalem" (Neh. XIII. 6, 7). He came, however, as the event showed, armed with authority which placed him above Eliashib, and enabled him to repudiate the authority and correct the policy of that worldly-minded ecclesiastic.

Nehemiah was now again Governor of Jerusalem, and on taking office found that a true report had been sent to him of Tobiah's residence on the Temple hill. His first action was to expel that caitiff from his room, and to cast forth all his household stuff into the court. This done, the chamber was ceremonially purified, and into it were replaced the holy vessels, the meal offerings, and the frankincense. No mention yet of any tithes. This violent procedure was a pretty plain indication of the feelings with which Nehemiah regarded the official head of the Church and his conduct.

Nehemiah's First Reform.—On going to the Temple he found it largely "forsaken" of its worshippers. No Levites were on duty, the gates being opened and closed by the priests, and the

service of song in the house of the Lord had ceased.

Assembling the ecclesiastical rulers of the people, Nehemiah, as of old, "contended" with them, laying at their feet the blame for the present deplorable condition of things. Eliashib is not named—he would hardly be present—but he is indicated in the fact that the representatives of the people were "set in their place," that is, their authority was restored, and they were warned against submitting to any dictatorship, and, by a cowardly acquiescence in the introduction of changes, allowing the responsibilities of their office to lapse.

Acting on his own authority Nehemiah says, "I made treasurers over the treasuries," and thus he gave an early illustration of the cardinal law of Protestantism that Sacerdotalists and Ecclesiastics should obey the civil law of the land, and are not to be allowed to set up their own views and wishes as above the law.

Godly men were appointed to these offices,* and again the tithes and offerings began to flow into the storerooms. Other Levites, of similar trusty character, were appointed to see to the distribution of these gifts; and once more the machinery of the Temple began to revolve, and the assistant Levites, gatekeepers, and singers

* Two of these commissioners were priests and two were Levites. The former were heads of parties of repairers of the walls (Neh. III. 29–30), Shelemiah acting through his son Hananiah, who was either the governor of the castle (Neh. VII. 2), or one of the guild of apothecaries (Neh. III. 8). The former is the more likely, owing to his unusually high character.

to take their places in the Temple court and at its doors.

Nehemiah's Second Reform.—With the decay of the legal ceremonialism of the Temple had come a general relaxation of manners and of morals. The Sabbath was observed by but few. Agricultural activities went on as on other days. The markets were open, and the streets of Jerusalem were filled with burdens on asses, being taken to market. Corn, wine, grapes, figs, fish, and all manner of ware were exposed for sale, and bought by the Children of Judah.

Again Nehemiah "contended," this time with the nobles of Judah, who were responsible for the municipal management of the city. His position as governor and High Commissioner enabled him temporarily to supersede the civic authorities, and to give them an object-lesson in the government of their city. Placing his own servants at the city gates toward sunset on the eve of the Sabbath, they barred the way into the town. As the sun went down the gates were closed and were not opened for traffic until the Sabbath was well past. Here was a man of principle in action!

Not satisfied with this, the governor himself went outside the gates to remonstrate with the excluded traffickers. He was not willing that they should temporarily lodge without the walls and wait the earliest moment for entering the city. Having driven them away by threats of imprisonment if again found there on the Sabbath, he re-

appointed the Levitical guards to the city gates, and so carried out his municipal reforms to their logical conclusion. After a few such warnings the hucksters, many of them foreigners, came no more.

Nehemiah's Third Reform.—One more pressing evil was dealt with. It was the old question of mixed marriages. No assembly or meeting about this troublesome question was held, but wherever Nehemiah met a Jew who had transgressed the law forbidding such marriages, he denounced his action in no measured terms, and made him swear that for the future he would not repeat the offence in the persons of any of his children. He did not require him to break the matrimonial bond, as Zerubbabel and Ezra had done.

Eliashib was now an old man, and one of his grandsons, a son of Joiada, had married a descendant of Sanballat, the Horonite—either a daughter or granddaughter. Him Nehemiah expelled, and refused to hold any intercourse with him. His policy in regard to these matters was at once wiser and kinder than that of Zerubbabel and Ezra had been. Convinced of the futility and cruelty of separating husbands and wives, he took means to guard against a repetition of the offence in the families concerned. When, as in this case, the culprit was an eminent one, and the sin a flagrant one, he deprived the culprit of the privileges of his birth, made him descend to his wife's social level, and find what consolation he could in the wealth of a marriage of convenience, and in the society of non-Hebrew associates.

In spite of his error in making Sanballat a contemporary of Darius III and of Alexander the Great, Josephus has preserved the names of the chief actors in the action which resulted in the great Samaritan schism of the Jewish faith. Though he has given a wrong setting to his data they are clearly historical, and tell us that the priestly noble who was the son-in-law of Sanballat and the grandson of Eliashib was named Manasseh,* and that he married Nicaso, a daughter of the Samaritan prince.

It is probable—his grandfather being still alive, and he being of a marriageable age—that this Manasseh was the eldest son of Joiada, a man who took his own place as the prospective High Priest, an office to which he eventually succeeded.

It is also likely that it is true exegesis to give the fullest force to Nehemiah's words, "I chased him from me," by interpreting them to mean that Nehemiah expelled Manasseh from Jewish territory and compelled him to join the Samaritan community.

However this may be, the Jewish historian tells us that Manasseh went to his father-in-law, Sanballat.† Here he found a sympathetic listener, for from the day, many years before, on which Zerubbabel had told the Samaritan delegates, "Ye have no portion, nor right, nor memo-

* Nehemiah does not give the name of the grandson of Eliashib, who was son-in-law to Sanballat the Horonite (Neh. XIII. 28).

† Sanballat first appears upon the stage of history in the twentieth year of the reign of Artaxerxes (Neh. II. 10), but we do not know how long he had then been Satrap of Syria. The events of the text are to be dated towards the close of Artaxerxes' reign of forty years.

rial in Jerusalem" (Neh. II. 20), a bitter feud had raged between the two races. The quarrel, which had lasted just a hundred years, was now ended and the breach complete. By the expulsion from Jerusalem of the heir to the High Priesthood an opportunity was afforded of setting up a rival Temple to that at Jerusalem, with a priesthood in every respect equal to that, save for the fact of the marriage. Such a proposal would be agreeable to Sanballat, as it would make him the ancestor of a race of High Priests of the highest dignity in the land of Samaria.

Sanballat accordingly built a temple and made Manasseh its chief priest, he being joined, writes Josephus, by all the Jewish priests and Levites who had made similar marriages * and had incurred similar odium.

In selecting a site for the future Samaritan temple there were several considerations to be taken into account by its founders. One was that the half-heathen population, for whom it was to be built, had, time out of mind, been accustomed to worship on high places, as being nearer to the gods than any other (2 Kings XVII. 29). Another was that though Samaria was built upon the top of a hill,† it had no special

* *Antiquities*, XI. 8, § 1.

† Stanley describes the position of the hill of Samaria thus: "In the centre of this basin rises an oblong hill with steep yet accessible sides, and a long flat top" (*Sinai and Palestine*, p. 244). Referring to this position of the city, Micah wrote: "I will pour down the stones thereof into the valley, and I will discover the foundations thereof" (Micah I. 6). Similarly, Isaiah makes reference to "the crown of pride of the drunkards of Ephraim" (Isa. XXVIII. 1, 3).

religious associations with the past. Its history went back but to the reign of Omri, the sixth King of Israel, 898–891 B.C. (1 Kings XVI. 24).

Shechem, six miles to its south, had a history which went back to the days of the patriarchs. Joseph's tomb was there. Jacob's well was there. It was the first place in Canaan visited by Abraham (Gen. XII. 6). There Jehovah had appeared to him, saying, "Unto thy seed will I give this land." The place of the altar built there by Abraham was by a lone oak or terebinth (Joshua XXIV. 26), under which Jacob afterwards buried the domestic idols of his family (Gen. XXXV. 4).

Shechem was therefore the place of holiest memories in mid-Palestine, and was often called Bethel (place of El); in historical times one of Jeroboam's golden calves being placed there.* In its neighbourhood, then, it was determined to build the new Temple, on the top of one of the hills overhanging the sacred spot. Gerizim, the mount of blessing (Deut. XXVII. 12), rather than Ebal, was chosen, and from the days of Nehemiah until these days the Samaritan sect have kept their annual passover service there.†

Artaxerxes I, patron of Ezra and Nehemiah, and friend of the Jewish faith, died 425 B.C., killed

* Evidence on this behalf is adduced in the volume on *Solomon's Temple*, pp. 320–4.

† (1) Stanley has described this ceremony as taking place of late on Mount Gerizim in a note to the fifth chapter of *Sinai and Palestine*.

(2) For a later description of the ruins on the summit of Jebel-el-Tor, see the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund for 1873*, p. 66.

with grief at the murder of two heirs to the Persian throne. He held the Zoroastrian faith, which, when in its purity, was sympathetic with monotheism.* For forty years he steadfastly resisted all attempts to wean him from his love for the Jews. During those years he contributed largely to the establishment of middle-age Judaism, and in an indirect way was one of the beneficent forces which stood by the cradle of the renaissance of the Mosaic law. With Cyrus and Darius he is entitled to a place in the honourable description of the Babylonian Isaiah—

> Kings shall be thy nursing fathers,
> And their queens thy nursing mothers.
> (Isa. XLIX. 23.)

Nehemiah does not give us any later date than the thirty-second year of his sovereign's reign. It was, however, into the eight years that followed that date that his second term of office fell. They were years fruitful in great results to the chosen people and to the history of religion, as the establishment of the Samaritan temple, a rival to that of Jerusalem, must always possess for the student of Jewish history a powerful interest.†

* But one inscription of Artaxerxes is known. It contains a declaration of his faith in the god Ormuzd, in whose shadow he had finished the house which his father had begun. A translation is given in Sayce's *Introduction to Ezra and Nehemiah*, p. 84. Ormuzd is still the beneficent deity of the Zoroastrians or Parsees of the East.

† One side of the mutual antagonism of worshippers in the two Temples is well expressed in the words of the son of Sirach—about 200 B.C. :—

> "My heart abhorreth
> The foolish people that dwell in Sichem."
> (Ecclesiasticus L. 25, 26.)

The antagonism between Jerusalem and Shechem cannot be fairly attributed solely to Nehemiah's general policy or to any single action of his. It was the culmination of a series of political errors which had continued through a century, and the incident of Manasseh's rejection is one that may be defended on the Jewish legal grounds of Leviticus XXI. 14, wholly apart from the policy of national isolation.

The founding of the Samaritan sect was an action of schism which, deplorable as it may have seemed at the time, was not without its good side. The defection of a number of priests and Levites to Mount Gerizim, where Sanballat gave them lands, houses, and money (Josephus, *Antiquities*, XI. 8, §2), freed Jerusalem from a mass of uncongenial and opposing elements,* and left the true Israel free to work out its own salvation in accordance with the new spirit of the age.

Ezra, as the senior of Nehemiah, probably died before him. The mention of a Zadok as "the Scribe" in Nehemiah XIII. 13 would seem to indicate that this priest then held the office which Ezra held before him (Neh. XII. 26), and with which his name is for ever associated. Though as a reformer and a politician Ezra was not a success, the world owes to him a debt of

* The Hebrew nation underwent several purgations before the purpose of God was accomplished in fitting it for the Incarnation in their midst. All its rougher elements were left in Mesopotamia and the lands of the East. The "remnant" that returned were again sifted by the removal to Samaria of those who were disaffected and disloyal. Yet the official action of the oft-sifted residuum, as to the Messiah, was a disastrous one.

gratitude as being the first to perceive the unique qualities and value of the Jewish sacred writings. To their multiplication and completion he gave the best years of his life, and became the founder of a school whose labours profoundly affected, in after centuries, the destinies of the Church of God.

NOTE

THE REMAINING FRAGMENTS OF OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY IN THE BOOK OF NEHEMIAH

The memoirs of Nehemiah cannot contain anything from his hand much later than the year of Artaxerxes' death, which took place in 425 B.C. He had returned to Susa before that date, his second special mission to Jerusalem being accomplished when he had "cleansed" the Temple and the priesthood of all strangers, revised the wards—i.e. restored the relays of priests and Levites—arranged for regular contributions of wood for the altar, and for the delivery of first-fruits. Such is his own summary of the work he did in the last words of his book. Eliashib was then the high priest, and may have survived Nehemiah's final departure from the city.

(1) Yet we have in Nehemiah XII. 11 a nominal record of three high priests who succeeded him. Their names are Joiada, Jonathan, and Jaddua. Their ministry covered a century of time, as we know that Jaddua was high priest in 333 B.C., when Alexander the Great passed through Palestine (Josephus, *Antiquities*, XI. 8, § 5). Joiada was known to Nehemiah, as he is mentioned in Nehemiah XIII. 28, and is there spoken of as if his father Eliashib were still alive.

The natural explanation of this late literary fact is that later scribes, in copying out the Book of Nehemiah, added these three names as those of men who, to their knowledge, held this high office. Placed at first, possibly, in margins, they became—by a well-known and universally acknowledged process—incorporated into the text by subsequent writers, as recording matters of history not admitting of dispute.

(2) Another interpolation of the same kind occurs in the same chapter, done probably by the same hand. It is a statement that, during the four high priesthoods of Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan (or Jonathan), and Jaddua full registers of the heads of fathers' houses among the Levites were kept; and that a similar register of priests only was kept to the reign of Darius III (Codomanus, 336–331 B.C.). It adds that these

two registers of priests and Levites were kept in an official document called " The words of the days," down to the time of Johanan, the grandson of Eliashib, hence presumably down to the close of the fifth century B.C. Those later than this, to 331 B.C., were allowed to be of an unofficial character (Neh. XII. 22–3).

(3) These two glosses to the text are evidently parts of one contribution, as, together, they refer to the three orders of the priesthood—the high priest, the priests, and the Levites—all descendants of Levi. They are evidently the postscript work of some scribe of priestly descent, who wished it to be known that until the end of the Persian domination and of the Macedonian Conquest his tribe had rigidly kept their genealogies in one form or another.

The literary device of notes and footnotes or marks of parenthesis was unknown to these early copyists of sacred books; hence we have these two additions to, or interpolations in the body of, what was then an ancient text.*

Beyond these three verses, which are out of joint with their contexts, there is nothing in our possession of the historical books of the Bible that goes back to any date later than 425–400 B.C., which date may accordingly be looked upon as the era of the close of this part of the Old Testament Canon.

* Numerous similar cases occur in the historical Scriptures. One of the best known of these, recording the advance southward of the Hittite or Hyksos nation, is in Num. XIII. 22—" Now Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt." An earlier one still is the mention of " the place of Shechem " in Gen. XII. 6, recording Abraham's visit there, whereas we know that Shechem was so called from Shechem the Hivite, whose father, Hamor, was a contemporary of Jacob (Gen. XXXIV. 1–4).

CHAPTER XIV

THE LAST CENTURY OF PERSIAN RULE

OBEYING the universal law, Ezra and Nehemiah passed away; but their works remained, and their example and influence wrought powerfully among the people they had governed. As their conceptions of duty and of the means of ethical uplifting were diverse, so also the effect which each produced was different. In many cases a patriot's best work appears after his decease. Death removes prejudice, and in the clear light of eternity men see things which the mists of time have obscured. It was so here.

Ezra, as the earlier of the two, had grasped, while in Babylonia, the truth that the written word of Jehovah, faithfully spoken by His messengers, was as incorruptible seed, which does not lose its vitality. This was his glory, and this is his best title to the honours of an imperishable name. Till he arose to spend his nights and days in the study of the law, in arranging its constituent parts, and in transcribing the data so arrived at for future use, men had treated the written word as if it had but a temporary use, and as if there would arise a constant succession of prophets to

meet the varying needs of every hour of the future.

In consequence of the popular demand for fresh revelations from heaven, there arose a variable supply of literary productions which claimed to have the prophetic spirit. Jeremiah bitterly complained that the men of his generation were ignorant of the will of heaven because "the false pen of the scribes had made of it falsehood" (VIII. 7, 8). There were thus many scribes before Ezra, who were engaged in the production of Hebrew prose and poetry, in character like that which they already possessed.* To Ezra was it given to act as if he knew that a time was coming, centuries long, in which no open vision should be given, and that the Church of Jehovah would then require to fall back upon those treasures of wisdom and truth which she already possessed in her inspired writings.

We have a singular illustration of his foresight in garnering up the historic fragments of his day in the fact that at the time of the census taken by Nehemiah, while the latter embodied the results of his appeal to the people to fill up the waste places of Jerusalem, in the record of the number of priests, Judahites, and Benjamites, who ultimately responded to it; Ezra (whom we assume to be the chronicler) gives us the number of "first inhabitants that dwelt in Jerusalem," before their numbers were augmented by a fresh distribution of the population.

* The various books of the Apocrypha—the survivals of a vast literature—are evidence of this.

A fact such as this is one that is full of meaning to the seeing eye and the hearing ear. It demonstrates, as one sign among many, the temporal homogeneity of the first nine chapters of 1 Chronicles and the Book of Nehemiah. These chapters have not yet been made to yield their full tribute of historicity to our knowledge, partly because the writer's period and sources of information have not been seized and understood. Whenever they are fully apprehended we may find correctives for much of that vagueness which still characterizes theological writing relating to this time.

While, however, Ezra was thus careful to glean from every field what might add to the sum of historical truth as regards the people of God, his main endeavour was to draw from the past those lessons which the present needed. In doing this—to the exclusion of much of the duty of rightly governing the people he was sent to govern and reform—he laid the foundation of a school of thought and action which was to exercise a powerful influence in the State, and at one time to dominate it completely.

We cannot establish too firmly in our minds the proposition that the scribes of Judaism were not members of a religious sect, but of a literary profession. Their business was to collate, transcribe, and engross copies of the written Tôrah. This work naturally gave them a more accurate and extensive knowledge of "God's word written" than could be possessed by their contemporaries. They were thus often appealed to to settle dis-

puted points of doctrine resting upon little-known texts of the law. In this way they became the "lawyers" of the New Testament.

It is needless to say that all scribes did not take the same view of the truths they studied and unfolded. Many of them were Sadducees, who, like the Samaritans, adhered solely to the written Mosaic law, which they interpreted with much freedom. Others, and these were the majority in New Testament times, were Pharisees. Hence we read of "the scribes of the Pharisees" (Mark II. 16; Acts XXIII. 9). These, as men belonging to the sect of the Pharisees, taught that the great object of life was to live according to the letter of the Tôrah, and the teachings of the prophets—as interpreted by themselves. They were the orthodox and larger party in the nation, and, so far, cannot but win the suffrages of posterity. They were, however, deeply tainted with the fatal vices of insincerity and hypocrisy.

All, however, whether Sadducee or Pharisee, were sons of Ezra. Many were priests, others Levites, and a few laymen. Ezra was their spiritual ancestor, and any youth in Judea who devoted himself to the almost exclusive study of the law looked up to him as his great model and example.

Nehemiah is one of the most attractive characters in the Old Testament. He was a man of action and affairs, but it was action based on a living faith in Jehovah and on the promises of the written word. He was essentially a man of

prayer, as his frequent ejaculations and appeals for remembrance show. From these we learn that in leaving his wealthy home and honoured place at Court, to undertake the thankless task of "contending" with selfish nobles, cowardly officials, malignant aliens, and an apostate High Priest, he was actuated by a lofty patriotism springing from the possession of personal religion. The hold which he had upon the essentials of good living made him less the slave of legalism than it did his friend Ezra. He grasped the fundamental fact that any service of God which is not based upon justice, mercy, and truth, in our dealings with our fellow-men, is thereby vitiated and annulled. Thus, while he insisted upon the dues to the Levites and the singers being paid, and carried the case of the latter to the Emperor himself, he did not think that an acquaintance with the letter of the law and perfect ceremonial renderings of the Temple service were, in themselves, sufficient to propitiate the majesty of Heaven. Well had he learned the lesson of the value of intercessory prayer and of the need for individual man to have commerce with the skies in order to create and maintain within his own breast the flame of heavenly devotion. This was the truth grasped by the few "righteous" commemorated by Malachi. This was the witness borne through the ages by a minority who held the Jewish faith. The example of Nehemiah was operative to increase their number and to confirm their resolution. He had himself chosen men of this school for the chief places in the State.

Hananiah, a man of faith and one that "feared God above many," was made governor of the castle that protected the Temple (Neh. VII. 2). The four commissioners put over the distribution of the tithes were chosen for the reason that they were "faithful." So with other appointments. In this way the foundations of a party were laid which appears and reappears in subsequent history. A company of Asideans, or pious, were the first to rally to the standard of revolt raised by the aged Mattathias, the father of the Maccabees. They were likewise the first among the Children of Israel to propose the acceptance of the terms of peace proposed to his son Judas (1 Macc. II. 42; VII. 13).

Of this party—influential beyond the warrant of its numbers—Nehemiah was the father and founder in the Persian period.

All the High Priests of the two centuries during which Judea was a province of Persia were members of the family of Zadok. When the history of the latter of these centuries began Eliashib occupied this place. We have seen how little he sympathized either with the work of Ezra or with that of Nehemiah. On the final departure of the latter from Jerusalem, Eliashib became the principal personage in the State. As such he was held responsible for the payment of the King's tribute—year by year.* He was, soon

* That a royal tribute was paid to Persia during the time of Nehemiah's first term of office, we learn from Neh. v. 4: "There were also that said, We have borrowed money for the king's tribute upon our fields and upon our vineyards."

after Nehemiah's second return to Persia, succeeded by his son Joiada, the same who had arranged his son's marriage with the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite. From this action, as well as from his father's example, not much of high thinking or of firm principle was to be expected of him.

By the elevation of the chief priest to the position of "Nasi," * an entirely new situation in that office was created. It was an office which demanded ceaseless and skilled attention, for the Jews had been effectually taught—by the destruction of the city following Zedekiah's failure to raise the assessment for Babylon—that the raising of the public revenue was a matter vital to their existence. Instead of giving undivided attention to his religious duties and those of the Hebrew hierarchy, as his office demanded, the High Priest had now to attend to the civil administration of a nation.† Church and State were one in Persian Judea. He had, therefore, to keep in repair the walls of the capital, to make roads, to acquire strategic strongholds, and to

* Ezekiel's scheme of future government for restored Israel assumed that the Nasi of the nation should be a layman. Comp. note, p. 53.

† In one passage referring to this period Josephus says that the form of government was partly aristocratical and partly oligarchical, with the high priest at the head of affairs (*Antiquities*, XI. 4, § 8).

In another he says that the fifteen high priests who held office until Antiochus Eupator, lived under a democratical form of government (*Antiquities*, XX. 10, § 1). The two statements are not necessarily contradictory. Politically the government was republican in form, under a theocracy, which element it was natural and easy to ignore and overlook.

attend to the requirements of his suzerain sovereign. Trade, home industries, military service, and diplomacy all claimed a share of his attention. These were things outside the provisions of the Tôrah and of the scheme of Ezekiel, both of which insisted only upon the High Priest's attention to the ritual of worship, ceremonial purification, the administration of justice, and the study of the law. Statecraft was alien to the genius of the office. Yet the temptation to embark upon the stormy sea of politics was an irresistible one ; and—for good or evil—the High Priest now assumed the functions of a governor.* The consequence was inevitable. Religious liberty and political freedom became, for the future, the ideals of whatever High Priest was in office. Eliashib became the founder of a party in the State, afterwards named Sadducees, who took their name from the house of Zadok. Not yet was the name in use, but from the moment of Artaxerxes' death the Sadducean party existed, who gave allegiance only to the five books of Moses, denied a future existence, and the possibility of a state of rewards and punishments hereafter.

It was with these three embodiments and equipments of intellectual and ethical life that the

* Schürer writes : "The most distinctive features of the Jewish constitution as it existed during the period subsequent to the exile is this, that the *High-priest was the political head of the nation as well.* Those of the Asmonœan line, and earlier, were *priests* and *princes* at one and the same time, their office being hereditary and tenable for life. The later Asmonœans represented the very acme of sacerdotal power and authority" (*History of the Jewish People*, vol. III, p. 195)

Jewish State confronted the future when the canon of the Old Testament closed. The principles underlying each of them were yet in embryo, and were perhaps little understood even by those who held them. From the harvests which were reaped we know what were the seeds sown. They were diverse in kind, but each of them had a kind of inherent indestructibility. It was from the subsequent fierce rivalry of those who held the differing ideals on the battlefield of life that the ultimate destruction of the State resulted. During the century of Persian rule over Judea which still remained, these germs of national life retained their vitality, and gathered unseen strength and force. They were at their joint strength during the War of Liberation, which gave Judea eighty years of freedom and glory, but again falling asunder, placed the Holy City under the heel of Rome, finally and for ever.

"After the death of Artaxerxes there followed the usual scramble for the throne, and in a few months Xerxes II, his assassin, and his brother Sogdianus both perished, while a third brother, Nothus, took the throne and the name of Darius II" (Petrie).

The second Darius reigned for twenty years, but the history of Persia during them is a blank, and its King a nonentity. Egypt again revolted in the second year of his reign, but the Persians were not driven out, the local patriots holding the marshes of the Delta. Still, the decaying power of Persia showed that her expulsion from a province held by her for more than a hundred

years was merely a matter of time. So serious was the rising under Amyrtaios, who appears in Manetho as the sole King of Egypt (i.e. of the twenty-eighth dynasty), that were there no evidence that Egyptian troops served his son, Artaxerxes, at the battle of Cunaxa in 401 B.C., we should esteem Egypt lost to Persia, during the reign of Darius Nothus.

The disastrous fifty years, 499–449 B.C., during which the great struggle between Persia and Greece lasted, was now bearing its harvest of weakness and discouragement. The spirit of the Persian soldier was broken. He no longer believed himself to be invincible. He had lost confidence in his commanders as well as in himself, and an army without hope is an army destined to defeat.

Darius II was succeeded by his eldest son, who took the name of Artaxerxes II. He had a brother named Cyrus — known to us as Cyrus the Younger—who was appointed to the satrapy of Lydia, in Asia Minor, a province which had been added to the Empire by Cyrus the Great. Conscious of great abilities and spurred on by ambition, Cyrus, though a younger son, determined to make a dash for the throne of the world. He accordingly, in the year 402 B.C., engaged a body of 13,000 Greek mercenaries, who were placed under the command of Clearchus. With them he took the huge body of Persian troops stationed in his province. Cyrus then marched toward the east, not allowing his men to know the nature of the enterprise upon which he had embarked.

When concealment was no longer possible, he told them he proposed to invade the territory of the great King, his brother. Liberal promises were made, and the expedition proceeded. At Cunaxa, a village about fifty miles north of Babylon, the armies met. Victory inclined to the smaller body, but as Cyrus furiously fought his way toward the chariot of Artaxerxes he was borne down by opposing numbers and killed. The retreat of the ten thousand Greeks who survived the battle now began, and has been told in military prose of matchless style by Xenophon, who accompanied Cyrus as a non-combatant. On him fell a large share of the responsibility in the famous retreat, and after six months of travel and fighting through Kurdistan, the survivors reached the seashore at what is now Trebizond, on the Black Sea. The passage of so small a body of troops across a large portion of the Persian Empire displayed the low defensive condition into which it had fallen. The enterprise was one which, in spite of its failure, was sure to be repeated, if only in retaliation for the many attacks made by Persia upon Greece through the century before.

Artaxerxes II, surnamed Mnemon, was now on the throne of Persia (400–358 B.C.). He was a man of vigorous character, and planned another invasion of Greece. Before this could be launched, Egypt revolted. The Persian general Bagoas was sent, and overran Cyprus as well as Egypt.

Artaxerxes himself conducted the war against Phœnicia, and laid siege to Sidon.

With the noise of battle all around her, it is to be expected that Judea would show symptoms of unrest. Josephus tells the story. Johanan, the grandson of Eliashib, was now Priest-King in Jerusalem. His brother Joshua also had ambitions that way. A furious quarrel occurred between the two brothers in one of the Temple courts, and in a moment of supreme anger Johanan struck his brother to the heart. This act of murder and sacrilege, committed by a dependent High Priest, was made an excuse for Persian intervention. Bagoas having pacified Egypt, 368 B.C., was returning with the army. He took Jerusalem in his way, and occupied the citadel near the Temple. Being there, he thought it good to give a political lesson to the Hebrew neighbours of the surrounding malcontents, by decreeing that the sovereign power should no longer contribute the animals for the public sacrifices of the Jews, and by compelling them to pay a small tribute of fifty shekels, or one maneh of silver, for every animal so sacrificed during the next seven years. He also went into the Temple, as a reminder to the Jews that they were still Persian subjects, and under its yoke. These singular regulations were aimed at curbing the power and aspirations of the High Priest, who was, *ipso facto*, the tributary ruler of the nation.

The aged Artaxerxes died in the year 358 B.C., after a reign of forty-two years, and the throne

was seized by his younger son, Ochus, who is known as Artaxerxes III. He did more to revive the tottering Empire than any monarch since Darius I. His reign was, consequently, the bloodiest in Persian history. Egypt naturally demanded his first attention. Nectarebo II had taken its sceptre, and proved to be the last native King of Egypt. After a first defeat, Ochus himself advanced with a large army, estimated at 330,000, and completed the reconquest of Egypt, 343 B.C. Ochus placed an ass in the temple of Ptah,* one of its chief deities, and slaughtered the sacred bull, Apis, for a banquet.

After a reign of twenty years Ochus was murdered by the eunuch Bagoas, the same who had pacified Egypt, defiled the temple by his presence, and taken part in the campaign in which Egypt was finally humbled.

Bagoas placed Arses, the youngest son of Artaxerxes, on the throne of Persia, 339 B.C. But when he learned that Arses was planning to punish him for the death of his father, Bagoas caused the young King and all the members of his family to be assassinated in the third year of his reign.

Darius III—also placed on the throne by Bagoas—was the great-grandson of Darius II, and, unwilling to keep alive so dangerous a subject as

* The temple of the god Ptah was the greatest feature of the ancient capital of Memphis, as that of Amon was of Thebes. Here Alexander the Great was formally crowned King of Egypt. The crowning of Ptolemy V, at the same shrine, is the subject of the three texts on the famous Rosetta Stone, now in the British Museum.

Bagoas, ordered him to execution. This action was characteristic of the man. He was handsome in person and strict in morals, evidently beloved by his people, yet neither statesman nor general. His was too small a soul to deal with the great crisis of his country's fate. That fate had long threatened. It was now about to fall with lightning-like rapidity.

Codomannus had been upon the throne but a few months when news came to him that Alexander of Macedon had crossed the Hellespont in order to attack him. Within three years of this time Darius was a fugitive in Balkh and Samarcand. Alexander was close on his heels, and reached the fleeing Persian as he was dying of wounds inflicted by the traitor Bessus, his satrap in Bactria. Having no son, he was the last member of the dynasty of the Achæmenidæ, a family established by Cyrus on the throne of one of the great Powers of the world.

Herder compares the Persian Empire of this time to a tree whose roots were so small, and its branches so large, that it could not but fall to the ground. As one of the branches of such a tree, the Jewish nation was deeply involved—for good or ill—in the downfall of the suzerain power.

The story of Alexander's rise, and his conquest of the world, is not one that can be written here. Neither can it be altogether omitted from these pages, as no event, not even the Babylonian captivity, had so great an external influence on

the chosen people as the transformation of the then-known world, which was effected during the twelve years in which, meteor-like, he shot across the horizon of human history.

The only child of his parents, he ascended the throne when twenty years of age. His father, Philip, had already laid the foundation of his son's successes by raising Macedon to the chief place in the boundaries of Hellenism. During the campaign in which this was done Alexander had served in the heavy cavalry, and had led the charge which helped to decide the day at Chæroneia. The lesson was not lost upon him, as with this arm he won almost all his battles.

The quarrel between Persia and Greece had lasted for more than a century, and the time for the long-meditated attack on the great King, in retaliation for the invasions of Darius Hystaspis and Xerxes, seemed to have come. Alexander's army was put into motion in the spring of 334 B.C. It soon met the Persian satraps, who had collected their cavalry and Greek mercenary infantry on the plain of Zeleia, behind the river Granicus, in Asia Minor. In the attack which followed the Persian left centre was weakened. Into the breach thus made Alexander at once threw his heavy cavalry. They broke, and the battle of Granicus was won.

Crossing the Taurus range, and defiling through the Cilician gates, Alexander passed Darius himself, then in search of him, in command of a vast array. When the strategical mistake was dis-

covered, the Persian army was found in a narrow defile between the sea and the mountains at the north-east corner of the Mediterranean, with a little river, the Pinarus, crossing its front. Facing their own homes, the men of each army fought for victory. When again the troops of the Persian left centre were shaken, Alexander hurled his squadrons of heavy cavalry, in close order, upon it. As a part of the attack a furious charge was made upon the chariot in which Darius sat. The King fled, and a general panic ensued. The camp, with its treasures and the family of Darius, fell into the conqueror's hands. Claiming the title of King of Persia, Alexander showed true military statesmanship in delaying his further attack for a year.* This time was spent in sieges of Tyre and Gaza, and the occupation of Egypt. Two memorable events characterized it. Both were victories of peace.

One was Alexander's visit to Jerusalem. When within a mile of the city, Jaddua, the High Priest—attended by priests in white linen robes—met him. The conqueror received them graciously, and with them went into the Temple courts, where he offered sacrifice.

History attests that Alexander treated his Jewish subjects with unusual generosity, both in Judea and Babylon. No other reason for this is given than the one adduced by Josephus (*Antiquities*, XI. 8, § 5), which is that dreams

* The decisive battle of Arbela, now *Erbil*, on the great Zab river, was not fought till 1 October, 331 B.C., almost within sight of the mounds of Nineveh. With Arbela fell the Persian Empire.

were given to both Alexander and Jaddua by which they were prepared to meet one another. He adds that, under Alexander, the Jews were granted permission to enjoy their own laws, and were relieved from the payment of tribute every sabbatic or seventh year, when their fields lay idle.

The other event was the founding of Alexandria in the year 332 B.C.

With an unrivalled situation for international trade with Europe, Asia, and Africa, it had advantages which no inland city could equal. Commerce brought wealth to Alexandria, and with wealth came learning and scholarship. On the break-up of Alexander's empire ten years after the founding of the city, one of his generals, Ptolemy Lagus, named Soter or Saviour, became King of Egypt. His line ruled Egypt for three centuries, the last of the dynasty being Cleopatra, the friend of Antony and Cæsar.

The early Ptolemies were friends of learning, and determined to make Alexandria the world-centre of Hellenistic thought and philosophy. To this end the second Ptolemy, Philadelphus, established and endowed a foundation of learning, which comprised a great library, observatories, zoological gardens, exotic plants, and other equipments. A brilliant group of students in literature and science was gathered—at the head of which were the first scholars of the world—one of whom, Eratosthenes (d. 194 B.C.), originated the process by which the size and the shape of the earth were discovered. This was done by measuring

the distance from Syene to Alexandria, and then estimating, by the science of shadows, that this distance was one-fiftieth of the circumference of the globe. Others were Euclid, the mathematician, and Manetho, the historian.

Alexander's victories being its primary origin, the philosophy of Socrates, the pen of Plato, the chisel of Praxiteles, the pencil of Apelles, the oratory of Demosthenes, and the poetry of Homer contributed to the glory of its university; while the products of east, west, north, and south filled its bazaars, and their inhabitants its streets.

Alexandria was the world's first university, where *universal* knowledge was sought and imparted. This being the object of the Alexandrian Museum,* or Temple of the Muses, and there being many thousands of Jews resident in the city, it was inevitable that the sacred books of the Hebrews should find a place in its library. As, however, pure Hebrew was then becoming a dead language, it followed that in order to commend their contents to Hellenic readers, a Greek translation of them should be made. This was undertaken by order of the founder of the University, Ptolemy Philadelphus, so called from the fact that he had married his full sister Arsinœ—Philadelphus meaning "sister-loving." This popular title was given in contempt by the Greeks, as such marriages, common in Egypt, were forbidden amongst themselves.

* The site of this is shown on Botti's map of ancient Alexandria, 1898, a copy of which is appended to vol. IV of Petrie's *History of Egypt*.

A tradition, embodied in a Jewish forgery of about 200 B.C., and ascribed to Aristeas, a courtier in the service of Philadelphus, asserts that a copy of the sacred books was sent from Jerusalem in return for the freeing of over a hundred thousand Jewish slaves in Egypt. This improbable tale has at least some basis of formal truth, as there is no doubt that the Septuagint translation was planned and partly executed in the time of Philadelphus, and probably under his patronage. The work was thus begun about 250 B.C., and the five books of Moses, which are better done than any others, completed. When the example of translation had once been set, one book after another assumed a Greek dress, and it is fairly certain that long before the beginning of our era the whole, or practically the whole, of the Hebrew Scriptures were easily accessible, in a Greek version, to those Jewish colonists who no longer retained their Semitic speech, and also to all such Greek students and readers as were curious in the matter.

The Septuagint is not only the oldest version of the Bible in any language, but it has undying associations in that it is the Bible commonly quoted by Jesus, St. Paul, and the apostles. It had thus become the Bible of Judea, and of all Jews outside Palestine, at the time of the Christian era. The influence of this fact upon Jewish thought and feeling has naturally been silent but immeasurable. Its beginning we have in the fall of Persia and in the vast results of the battle of Arbela, three centuries before the birth

of Christ. During these three hundred years the Septuagint was created, and arrived at the maturity of its influence and circulation. It was so called from the legend that it was translated by seventy (or seventy-two) Jewish elders, sent from Jerusalem to Alexandria, by the High Priest, at the invitation of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285–247 B.C.). After Greek influences in Palestine had been discredited by the successful revolt under the Maccabees, the Septuagint version incurred great odium. About 80 B.C. the Sopherim "declared that it was not made by seventy-two elders, representing every tribe of the whole Jewish nation, but by five men" (Ginsburg's *Introduction to the Masorah*, 1897, chap. XI., p. 306).

Possibly the title of the book, as known to us, was derived from the fact that its parts as completed were read to and approved by a Hebrew literary council of seventy members.

CHAPTER XV

ROMAN JUDEA TO THE REMOVAL OF THE TEMPLE

WHEN, owing to Pompey's conquests of the disjointed members of Alexander's empire, in the summer of 66 B.C., Judea became an integral part of the Roman State, it was severely taken in hand by the masters of the world. Treated as a conquered territory, its Maccabean prince, Aristobulus, graced the triumphal entry of Pompey into Rome, and the province of Syria was placed under Gabinius as Governor and General. By him it was divided into five separate districts, so as to destroy the Jewish hegemony. These were, for Judea, (1) Jerusalem, (2) Jericho; for Galilee, (3) Sepphoris, now *Sefurieh*. Still further north of Judea a fourth district was organized round Hamath, now *Hama*, in the valley between the Lebanons, and a fifth in the Peræa, of which Gadara,* now *Umm Keis*, was the capital. Freedom and municipal self-government were, at the same time, given to all the Hellenistic centres and Greek-speaking cities which had been conquered by the Hasmoneans.†

* Gadara was a town of Decapolis situate on the heights above the valley of the *Yarmuk*, east of Jordan. The Gadarenes are named in Mark v. 1 and Luke viii. 26, A.V.

† The Maccabees were so called from Hasmon, the father of Mattathias, the first hero of the war of liberation.

These included such places as Samaria, Scythopolis (the ancient Bethshan), Strato's Tower (afterwards Cæsarea), and many others. The Jewish fortresses, Machaerus, Hyrcanium, and Alexandrium,* were razed to the ground, and two Roman legions, each of ten thousand men, were given to Gabinius, with which to keep order.

Ecclesiastically, Hyrcanus, brother of Aristobulus, was restored to the high priesthood, with the care of the Temple. The power of the Sanhedrin was curtailed by a council of Hebrew elders being appointed in each of the five districts of which the province consisted. Thus the Nemesis of fate overtook the unwise, who had gambled away their hard-bought liberties by ceaseless jealousies and sectional party struggles. We catch shadows of this ancient strife, beneath the Roman eagles, in the mutual hatred of the Sadducee and the Pharisee, as reflected in the pages of the New Testament.

When the Hasmonean prince, Alexander Jannæus, conquered Idumæa, in 80 B.C., he compelled the male members of the tribe to adopt the initiatory rite of Circumcision, a sign of the covenant with Abraham (Gen. XVII. 10), and thus to become forced proselytes to the Jewish faith. He also appointed an Idumæan, Antipater, to be Governor of Idumæa. This Antipater was the grandfather

* Now *Mekaur*, *Arak el-Emir*, and *Kefr Istuna*, all of which are situate east of the Jordan and the Dead Sea.

of Herod, the King, whose rise to power is one of the most remarkable instances of self-elevation in the history of those times. By taking an active part in the struggle between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus for the high priesthood, as by his profession of faith he was entitled to do, the second Antipater (father of Herod the Great) gained great ascendancy over Hyrcanus, the Jewish High Priest, permitted to hold office by the grace of the Roman Emperor.

Gabinius, like Pompey, had scrupulously kept his hands off the Temple treasures, but when Crassus, a member of the triumvirate which then administered the Roman government, marched an army into Parthia, he carried away from the sacred mount everything of value that he could find. This led to one of several revolts, all of which were mercilessly put down by the Romans.

The battle of Pharsalia took place on 9 August, 48 B.C. By it the government of the Roman world passed from the hands of Pompey to those of Julius Cæsar.

Cæsar, like Cyrus, Darius, Artaxerxes, and Alexander, was uniformly friendly to the Jews, there being something in the sternness of the Jewish character—and, still more, something in their lofty literature—which appealed to the nobility of nature in all these great men.

Antipater of Idumæa, now in Jerusalem, at once changed his side in the civil wars which desolated the Roman Empire, and rendered great services to his patron, Cæsar. These services, as recounted by Josephus, involved valuable

military aid on no less than *four* different occasions. On one of these three thousand armed Jews marched in his train to Egypt, and on another Cæsar himself was released from an isolated and desperate military position at Alexandria.*

Such services deserved substantial recognition, and the great Julius was not the man to let them be unrewarded. He therefore abolished the political division of Judea into districts, as arranged by Gabinius. This had been a measure hateful to the Jew of every class, as it struck at the supremacy of his law and of its application to the people by the authority of the Sanhedrin.

A measure of political freedom was also given back to Hyrcanus, and his position as " Ethnarch " and High Priest was declared to be hereditary. To Antipater was given the privilege of Roman citizenship and freedom from tribute. He was also confirmed in his position of Prime Minister, or lay councillor to the High Priest, Hyrcanus. The Jewish people, as subjects of Cæsar, by his favour thus gained at one bound judicial freedom, religious liberty, and exemption from compulsory military service. As a benefactor to the chosen people Cæsar remained faithful to them during his brief tenure of irresponsible power. When his assassination took place, on 15 March, 44 B.C.,

* " It required all the courage and resource of that famous leader, and all the steadiness of his small army of two thousand veterans to hold his ground till adequate help reached him with the advance of his General Mithridates from Syria, by the usual way of Memphis" (Petrie's *History of Egypt*, vol. IV, by Professor Mahaffy, p. 242).

Josephus states that Antipater and his Jews, in the army of Mithridates, were the principal agents of the relief of Cæsar (*Antiquities*, XIV. 8, § 2).

lamentations for his death were heard throughout Palestine, in Egypt, and in Rome itself. Everywhere his memory was justly held in the highest honour by the Jews.

Before that event, however, Antipater had taken steps to make himself political master of the land, the destinies of which he guided. On Cæsar's departure from Syria Antipater made a tour of the country, impressing upon it everywhere a sense of his own power and importance. He then appointed his eldest son, Phasaël, Governor of Jerusalem, and his next son, Herod, Governor in Galilee.

The sudden rise to power of an Idumæan family was regarded by the Jewish aristocracy with feelings of intense jealousy and hatred. They determined to assert their ancient power in Sanhedrin assembled, and, as a test, summoned the Governor of Galilee before them on a charge of murder. He had, with characteristic vigour, rooted out a formidable band of robbers that had ensconced itself in the rocky gorges and fastnesses near the Sea of Galilee. After doing this he killed the captain of the band, one Ezekias, a renegade priest, and had by so doing technically infringed the rights of the Sanhedrin, which alone had power to pass the death sentence in civil cases. Herod was therefore summoned to appear before it at Jerusalem to answer for this offence. He came, but came surrounded with a bodyguard and wearing a purple robe, the insignia of royalty, over his bright armour. The case pro-

ceeded, and during its hearing a missive was received from the Syrian consul, Sextus Cæsar, a relation of the great Julius. It was sent to Hyrcanus, ordering him to discharge Herod from trial. When this was read to the Sanhedrin its session was adjourned *sine die*, and did not reassemble on this issue.

This diplomatic victory added greatly to the prestige of Herod, then in the flower of his manhood, of splendid physique, and with a restless and daring mind. He was soon afterwards appointed, by Sextus Cæsar, military Governor of Coele-Syria.

On the news of Julius Cæsar's death becoming publicly known disturbances occurred in Syria, and Herod's father, Antipater, was carried off by poison in Jerusalem.

World-shaking "Philippi" followed in the autumn of 42 B.C. Civil war at once broke out in Syria, by the suppression of which the brothers Phasaël and Herod became the virtual masters of Judea and Galilee. Herod now proposed to strengthen his position as military governor of the Jews by a matrimonial alliance with Mariamne, the beautiful granddaughter of the High Priest, Hyrcanus, and one of the last members of the Hasmonean house.

An invasion of Syria by the Parthian enemies of Rome took place in 41 B.C., and Herod, as a partisan of Mark Antony, had to leave Galilee—the population of which welcomed the invaders—and to flee to the almost inaccessible fortress of Masada, now *Sebbeh*, at the southern end of

the Dead Sea. Leaving this place and his future bride, Mariamne, in charge of his brother, he made his way to Egypt. Not finding Antony there he took ship to Rome, then in the throes of a revolution. Within a week of his arrival there, in the autumn of 40 B.C., Herod experienced a sudden and amazing change of fortune. Antony sympathized with his successes and his reverses. Led into the Senate-house by him and by Octavian, better known as the young Augustus, and afterwards as Cæsar Augustus, the Roman Senate unanimously passed a decree making Herod King of Judea. The three chief actors of this event then went together to the Capitol to offer sacrifice in the Temple of Jupiter, in accordance with the custom of Roman officials on their entrance upon office. To the carrying out of the decree of the Senate appointing Herod King of the Jews all the military forces of Rome were, as a matter of course, pledged.

Herod returned to Palestine in the spring of 39 B.C., and at once began the work of conquering his own kingdom and subduing his own subjects. Masada was relieved, Joppa fell, and Jerusalem, which had closed her gates, was attacked. The Roman general, Silo, was however bribed into inactivity, and not until his place was taken by Sosius was anything serious attempted. The resistance was determined. The Hebrews were ever valiant in defence, and the prospect of a hated Edomite occupying the throne of the Maccabees and of David intensified the spirit of revolt. In an endeavour to make his accession

more palatable to the people, Herod at this time married Mariamne, at Samaria. On his return to the capital the siege was pressed. The siege tactics of Pompey were followed, and within two months after its first investment the northern ditch and rampart were passed, the Temple enclosure stormed, and the city taken. The slaughter was terrible. The High Priest, Antigonus, almost the last of the Hasmoneans, was first scourged and then beheaded. By this blood-stained route Herod became the master of a capital in ruins, and the king of a nation, every member of which cordially and with reason detested him.

Seated on his throne, the task of government which confronted " Herod the King " (Matt. II. 1), then thirty-four years of age, was one of peculiar difficulty. His mother, Cypros, like his father, Antipater, was an Idumæan. We catch an echo of Ezra's blood-purism in the name by which he was confidentially known among the Jews—" the Idumæan Slave." Three years of racial civil war had given him a crown, but it had also made him innumerable and implacable domestic enemies. The national enmity against him was such that long after his death the few adherents of his house and reigning dynasty were known as " the Herodians " (Matt. XXII. 16 ; Mark III. 6 ; XII. 13). As a political party that favoured Greek customs, and a native dynasty under Roman law, they were bitterly hostile to the claims of Jesus.

Herod was the creature of Rome, and it was

of the first importance that he should show to the Senate and the Emperor that he could maintain order in his province. On this depended, as he very well knew, his own continuance in office. Those who had made him King might unmake him. He had no claims of birth or conquest as his support, and continued success alone could continue to justify his appointment and keep him on the throne. Let this be remembered on his behalf as we read the history—for which there is no space here—of the crimes and cruelties of which he was guilty.

On the other hand, the turbulent character of his subjects was unequalled in the Empire. Their internal dissensions had brought about their present ruin, and there is no evidence that they had abated their feelings of violence toward one another, or learned one of the lessons of humility which misfortune usually teaches. Ungoverned pride still governed them.

In these circumstances Herod adopted the only policy which had any chance of success. It was one of resolute government. He was prompt, decisive, and relentless.* His first action, on taking his place in the Hasmonean palace at Jerusalem, was to pay off an old debt which he owed to the Sanhedrin. It had once sat in judgment upon him. Now he sat in judgment upon it. Two of its members, Pollio and Sameas,† had

* A fair illustration of Herod's suspicious and vindictive character, in his later years, is afforded by his slaughter of the Innocents of Bethlehem, narrated in Matthew II.

† These are the names given by Josephus. Other authorities give them as Abtalion and Shemaia, which were possibly their original Hebrew names.

counselled the opening of the city gates to him in 39 B.C. Them he spared and loaded with gifts. The others, to the number of forty-five, he put to death, and confiscated their property to the uses of the State.

Having cleared away the ecclesiastical rubbish which stood in his path, the way was open to assert his supremacy over the Temple. This he did by sending to Babylon—where were many thousands of Jews—and bringing from thence an obscure priest, whose sole recommendation was his obscurity, and bestowing upon him the high-priestly office. His name was Ananelus. With this appointment began the long series of troubles and calamities brought upon Herod by the survivors of the Hasmonean family, to which his wife belonged. Her mother, Alexandra, wrote to Antony, through Cleopatra, pleading for the high priesthood for her son Aristobulus, then a handsome youth of sixteen. On Antony's desiring to have an interview with Aristobulus in Egypt, Herod at once dispossessed Ananel and conferred the dignity upon the young Maccabean prince, his brother-in-law, who officiated at the Feast of Tabernacles which ensued. His appearance, accompanied by his comeliness and great stature, so excited the populace in the Temple courts that they broke out into joyful acclamations and expressions of goodwill. These were seen and heard by Herod, who, as a pretended good Jew, would be present at the festival. Shortly after this Aristobulus joined his mother and the King in a royal party at Jericho, when,

at the instance of Herod, he was foully murdered by drowning. Ananel was now restored to office, and from him no rivalry was feared—his unpopularity was complete.

Alexandra now again wrote to Cleopatra, who moved Antony to summon Herod to Laodicæa to explain the death of Aristobulus. This Herod did, with plausible eloquence and lavish gifts. Cleopatra was at the same time appeased and won over with the revenues of the plain of Jericho, then famous for its palm trees and balsams. With no good grace Herod leased this district from her, so as to prevent the practical partition of the realm.

In the meantime Antony and the young Augustus had fallen out, and Actium* happened on 2 September, 31 B.C. Antony's defeat and suicide followed. The republican party in the State was now finally crushed, and the supremacy of Augustus on the field of battle gave him an absolute despotism over every portion of the Empire. The exhausted Roman world lay passive in his hands.

It was a critical moment in the life of Herod. He had rebuilt the fortress to the north of the Temple and given it the name of Antonia, in honour of the patron to whom he owed his crown.† He now resolved to keep that crown by changing

* Actium, where the naval engagement took place, is a promontory at the entrance of what is now the Gulf of Arta, opposite the modern town of Prevesa.

† The history of this citadel goes back to the days of Nehemiah, who calls it "the Castle which appertaineth to the House" (Nehemiah II. 8). It was considerably strengthened and even rebuilt by John

his allegiance, and, remembering the success which his previous charm and address had given him at Rome, determined again to present himself to Augustus. Once more he placed his family at Masada, and again he sought the Emperor. He found him at Rhodes. Putting on a bold front, and with many protestations, he urged his past fidelity to Antony as the chief reason why Augustus should now trust him and accept his services. The shrewd Roman knew the singular value of the man before him in governing the stubborn Jews. He therefore accepted his allegiance, confirmed him in his royal rank, and obtained from the Senate a further decree making the kingship secure. On Augustus afterwards visiting Syria, Herod escorted him to Egypt and then to Antioch on the Orontes. In return for his supple courtiership he received from Augustus the government of the cities of Jericho, Samaria, Joppa, Gaza, Gadara, Hippo, Anthedon, and Strato's Tower, by the incorporation of which with Judea his little kingdom was rounded off and made complete.

Herod died in his seventieth year, having been King of the Jews—*de jure* for thirty-seven years, and *de facto* for thirty-four years. His entry into Jerusalem was twenty-seven years after that of Pompey in 63 B.C. (*Antiquities*, XIV. 16, § 4), which

Hyrcanus I, the Maccabean Prince and High Priest, 135–105 B.C. (Josephus, *Antiquities*, XVIII. 4, § 3). During the time of the Maccabees it was known as *Baris*, The *Tower*, and stood in an angle to the north-west of the Temple (*idem*, XV. 11, § 4), where the Turkish barracks and minaret now stand.

gives 36 B.C. as the year of his assuming the kingly power, after the death of Antigonus, his Maccabean rival, and the popular darling.

The three years' difference here brought to light—between 39 and 36 B.C.—during which Herod was fighting for his crown (*Antiquities*, XVII. 8, §1), enables us to reconcile the superficially differing dates given by Josephus as to the founding of the third Temple.

In his *War of the Jews* (I. 21, § 1) Josephus tells us that "in the *fifteenth* year of his reign Herod rebuilt the Temple." This work proceeded from the historian's pen between A.D. 69 and 77 (*Against Apion*, I. § 9).

The *Antiquities* was not complete until A.D. 93 or 94 (*Antiquities*, XX. 11, § 3), nearly twenty years after the former work. In it he tells us that "in the *eighteenth* year of his reign Herod undertook to rebuild, at his own expense, the Temple of God" (XV. 11, § 1).

It is evident that there is no actual temporal discrepancy here, but that, writing in Rome, Josephus counted the years of Herod's reign from his Roman appointment; as, writing in Palestine, he had done from his actual occupancy of the throne (*War*, I. 17, § 8).

What was the date referred to in each of these passages? The answer may be found in the record of the first year of our Lord's ministry, in which the Jews said to Him, "Forty and six years was this Temple in building" (John II. 20). As Jesus was then "about thirty years of age" (Luke III. 23), we obtain the *terminus a quo* of

the forty-six years, in the conventional 20 B.C., this being the actual 16 B.C., as it is well known that the death of Herod took place 4 B.C., and that it was preceded, a few weeks only, by the birth of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus. 20 B.C. in the ordinary chronology is, therefore, the year in which the third or Herodian Temple was begun,* it being far from complete at the time of Herod's death.

Twenty B.C. was eight years after Actium. During these years Herod had put to death Hyrcanus, his father-in-law, which, added to his murder of her brother Aristobulus, so affected Mariamne that she constantly reproached her husband for his cruelty. The end was that, on a transparently false charge of unfaithfulness, Mariamne was publicly executed. She died with unshaken firmness, as befitted a daughter of the Hasmonean house.

These and other deeds of blood, together with the lavish expenditure of their King upon Greek theatres, racecourses, and gymnasia, intensified, if that were possible, the hatred of the better-class Jews to the strong man who ruled them. He therefore, in order to regain some share of their goodwill, remitted a third part of his subjects' taxes, and made an astute proposal to the mem-

* The thirtieth year of Jesus was A.D. 26, the Christian era being known to have been fixed four years later than was right. The evidence for this is that Herod died eighteen days after an eclipse of the moon (*Antiquities*, XVII. 6, § 4; *War*, I. 33, § 4). This eclipse is calculated by Kepler to have occurred on the night of 12–13 March, 4 B.C. Jesus was born about four months before the death of Herod, and the forty-six years of John II. 20 are made up of sixteen years before that event, and thirty years after it.

bers of the aristocratic and priestly party, by which he hoped to conciliate them and, at the same time, to strengthen his hold upon them. It was that he should rebuild, without charge to the nation, the Temple on Mount Zion—in which both he and they worshipped—thus adding at once to the splendour of the city and to the dignity of the worship of Jehovah.

Shortly before bringing his proposal for the building of a new Temple before the people—Ananel being then dead—Herod deprived the High Priest Joshua of his dignity and conferred it upon Simon, whose family was of Alexandrian origin. He then married his daughter, thus placing the head of the Jewish hierarchy under immense obligations to him, and rendering it almost impossible that he should oppose any of his plans. Herod now summoned a meeting of the representatives of the people, or Sanhedrin, to whom he addressed a speech, in which he dwelt with pardonable pride upon the degree of prosperity to which he had brought the nation. The age was, in brief, that of a short Augustan brilliance in Judea. The best products of various lands and times had been introduced into the country. It was strongly ruled and well defended. Cities on the Greek and Roman models were rising on every side. Strato's Tower had been converted, at immense cost, into a safe harbour, by the erection of one mole two hundred Greek feet * wide, and another one hundred feet wide.

* A Greek foot was 11⅝ English inches in length.

The entrance faced the north, and a magnificent temple faced it, in which were statues of Rome and Augustus Cæsar. The port was named Cæsarea, after the Roman Emperor, and it became the virtual capital of Roman Palestine, such as it appears in New Testament times. The following towns were founded or rebuilt: Antipatris (Acts xxiii. 31), named after Herod's father, Antipater; Phasaël, in the Jordan valley, after his brother of the same name, killed in Parthia; Samaria was rebuilt by Herod and named Sebaste, i.e. Augustan, and contained a magnificent temple, dedicated to the Cæsar.

In his address, after glancing at this brief résumé of his fifteen years' work, Herod turned to the undertaking which he had in mind. He deplored the fact that the poverty of their fathers had compelled them to build a temple, the tower of which wanted sixty cubits of that built by Solomon—by which statement we know that the porch of Zerubbabel's Temple was sixty cubits in height,* a fact otherwise undiscoverable. This imperfection he now proposed to correct, and to build, at his own cost, a Temple as complete and as splendid as the age would allow. Having laid his project before them, he dismissed the Assembly. The reception given to the proposal was of the chilliest description. Deep distrust of Herod's character prevailed. A general fear was felt that he would pull down their old edifice and would fail to attempt to

* By this comparison the porch of Solomon's Temple is confirmed to have been 120 cubits, or 144 feet high (*Solomon's Temple*, p. 263).

bring to perfection his promised intention of rebuilding it. But he was not a man to attempt to thwart, and with misgivings and doubts innumerable, the people saw the work of demolition begun.

The whole complex of buildings erected at the Restoration from Babylon was removed, the altar alone standing. In this way the sacrifices were not interrupted. Josephus, who was born shortly after the inception of the work, tells us that even the stylobate or platform was removed, in the words, "Herod took up the old foundations and laid others, upon which he erected the Temple" (*Antiquities*, XV. 11, § 3). His testimony as to this will be found to be unimpeachable when we come to the construction of the Herodian Temple, the form and size of which require that this should have been done.

Thus ended, by a peaceable removal, the fabric of a famous and noble building, which had served its purpose, by the will of God, for nearly five hundred years, having been completed in 516 B.C., and destroyed in 20 B.C. Its materials were, of course, utilized so far as was possible in the new structure, it being a principle—then rigidly observed by the Jews—that anything once used in the service of God might not be put to any other use.

As the central structure of a spiritual faith, which demanded the full consecration of all human powers to the object of its worship, the Temple of Ezekiel fell below that of Solomon. After the deaths of Ezra and Nehemiah it saw no

such days as those of Asa, Jehoiada, Hezekiah, and Josiah. There was no open vision of prophetic power after Malachi. The inner faith of Judaism throughout these centuries was a decaying quantity, and was almost extinct, as a power for righteousness, at the advent. The one glory of Rabbinical Judaism is that it preserved to the world "The oracles of God," which else were lost. Having, in the providence of God, served this purpose, the second Temple passed away, to make room for a new era and a fresh revelation, just then about to appear.

PART II

THE STRUCTURE

INTRODUCTION TO PART II

"MEASUREMENT IS SCIENCE"

THE measures used in this design and literary reconstruction of the Temple of Ezekiel are those described by him as being marked on the measuring rod and in the line of flax with which his measurements were taken (Ezek. XL. 3, 5). They are equivalent to a land cubit of 18 inches, by which the courts were delimited, and a building cubit of 14.4 inches, by which the buildings were erected. A third cubit of 10.8 inches—not mentioned by Ezekiel, used in the construction of the furniture and gold fittings of the Jewish sacred interior—does not find more than an incidental place in these chapters, as the Hebrew text of Ezekiel does not deal with the sacred utensils, the sizes and proportions of which did not afterwards differ, except in a single case, from those designed by Moses.

As an aid to memory it may be noted that these three cubits were of the respective lengths of five, four, and three tenths of a yard.

The hitherto unchallenged and formal justification of the early use of this family of measures, originally derived from Babylon, may be found in Part II of a volume entitled, *The Tabernacle: its History and Structure*, 2nd edition, 1906.

Their practical efficiency and historical correctness have been further shown in their application to the specifications of the first Temple in the volume entitled *Solomon's Temple,* the introduction to the second part of which consists of a popular account of Hebrew measures of length.

In this, the third volume of the series, it is hoped that they will have a still further proof of correct application, and one which may tend to their more general knowledge and acceptance.

A schedule of the ninety-six architectural measurements given by Ezekiel may be found in Appendix I (pp. 365–76), where their values are given in feet and inches. From these alone an architect has been able to reproduce Ezekiel's design, and any reader may by them check the design reproduced in the large plan given herewith.

It is not unlikely that Sir Charles Lyall's saying "Accuracy is abhorrent to the Oriental mind" may occur to some reader of these pages. This is so to-day, but the civilization of Palestine, two or three thousand years ago, was derived from Babylonia, whose scholars were careful computers of time and space. Moreover, the genius of the Semitic mind has always ran in the direction of religion and all that concerns its growth and manifestation. Also it may be remembered that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. the Arabs greatly influenced European thought by their contributions to mathematics and philosophy. Neither the Taj of Agra nor the dome at Jerusalem was built without a high degree of architectural accuracy, as well as other mental qualities.

CHAPTER I

SOME MEASUREMENTS OF THE TEMPLE

THE close of our second chapter left Ezekiel standing at the east gate of the Temple, preparatory to its measurement by the angel. We now resume this subject, taking as our divisions the several walks or progresses made by the prophet in his narration of the vision. The measures of the two landings of the eight steps (item 99,* four to each landing), which stood without the wall, and which led up to the gate, were first taken, these landings being termed "thresholds" (items 3 and 4), and were found to have a width of nine feet apiece.

Standing in the gateway, and measuring the height and thickness of the enclosing wall at one of its reveals, and finding each of them to be of nine feet† (items 1 and 2), the prophet and his

* Throughout this and the two subsequent chapters the "items" referred to may be found in the first Appendix, where the textual references are given. Of the hundred items there specified, all are cited in these chapters, Nos. 92–95, which refer to sacrificial details, not being necessary to an architectural reconstruction of the building.

† These measures being taken while standing on the 6-feet daïs of the platform, give 15 feet (12½ c.) as the height of the wall outside, and at all other parts of the enclosure. This construction is that referred to in the Mishna: "All the walls were high, except the wall on the east" (*Middoth* II. § 4). This sentence could not have been descrip-

angelic companion passed through the great east gate of the Temple enclosure, by which alone worshippers were admitted.

Being now within the sacred enclosure, the prophet's attention was called to the "Lodges" for the Temple police—three of which stood on either side of the gate. While, however, the position of the lodges on the one hand corresponded with that of those on the other hand, there was this speciality, that one lodge of either set of three of those at the east gate stood apart from its fellows—and within the area of the priests' court. By Ezekiel, some literary labour is expended here in order to make this clear, but if a collation be made of the Revised text of Ezekiel XL. 7–16, the accompanying Plan, with the schedule of measurements given in Appendix I (items 5–20), the construction of this portion of the structure, it is hoped, will become clear.* It is noticeable in item 19 (comp. plan) that the east line of the priestly *soreg* is cut, at either end, by the intrusion of one of the lodges that stood there. The prophet's measure was taken from lodge to lodge, and was not that of the whole east side of the court of the interior (see item 61 and its footnote).

Having satisfied himself by the measurements

tive of this part of Herod's Temple, and is, possibly, a reminiscence of the temple which preceded it, the wall of which, from the interior and neighbourhood of the altar, looked lower on the east than it did from any other point. See *ante*, note, p. 36.

* The general plan of the Temple of Edfu, in Egypt, may be compared with that of Ezekiel. Its southern court alone measures 155 feet by 138 feet, and the surrounding wall is 34½ feet high by 8½ feet thick (Petrie's *History of Egypt*, vol. IV, pp. 125, 217).

of the angel—all of which being so done were intended to convey the divine approval—as to the dimensions, without and within, of the east gate, near to which was the worshipping-place of the congregation, the prophet at once passed to his left and entered the outer court, i.e. that lying to the south of the Temple.

In doing so he had to pass between two blocks of building, in which were thirty chambers—fifteen in each block. The architecture and use of these chambers are dealt with hereafter, pp. 321 ff., 358-60. Passing them now with a brief recognition only (Ezek. XL. 17), the architect describes himself as standing in the entrance of the outer or southern court, with three lodges on either hand—of the same size as those already defined as being at the east gate, each of which was 9 feet square (items 5 and 6), and had "closed" or latticed "windows" on three of its sides, by which the Levite on sentry within could observe what was passing around him (Ezek. XL. 16). The door, of course, filled up the fourth side.

There was another architectural similarity in the two gates than this of being flanked by sentry-boxes. It was in the existence of a small porch just within the gate. That at the east gate (hitherto in these pages unreferred to) was known as "The Porch of the Gate" (Ezek. XL. 8), and had an interior area of 12 feet by 9 feet (items 9 and 10). It stood upon four pillars, which were arched above. These are "the posts and the arches" frequently referred to throughout the specification.

The little porch at the gate between the two courts, beneath which the prophet now found himself, was in all respects of the same measure as that of the first or east gate, being an exact copy of it, as were two other gate porches within the sanctuary.

Having made this observation, the architect now proceeded to measure, in cubits of reeds, the area of the outer or southern court (item 75 and note). This he found to be 150 feet in length and in width, within the walls.*

In taking these measures, north-and-south and east-and-west, Ezekiel, accompanying the measurer, found that he had to ascend seven steps when coming from the north, and to descend the same number in going towards the gate at the south (items 96, 97). The exact position of these two sets of steps in the court is given in the statement that the head of each set of steps was 120 feet from the opposite end of the court (item 78 and note). There was thus a margin of 30 feet at either end of the court, which margins lay below the raised portion of the court. This lower level included the space of the steps traversed by the two observers. The platform which stood above the steps was thus 90 feet

* "Certain portions of Ezekiel's specification are written in large cubits, the fact being in every case notified. In addition to the ground areas of the courts of the Temple being uniformly given in 18-inch cubits, the measurements of the Great Altar of Sacrifice are so given; likewise those of the outer wall, its steps and its lodges. With those exceptions the large cubit in his pages is invariably one of open spaces" (*The Tabernacle*, 2nd edition, 1906, p. 227).

from north to south,* but 120 feet from east to west (item 81)—the east and west margins here being only one-half and one-quarter the width of the others, or five and ten large cubits, against twenty north and south.

It is impossible not to see in these fourteen steps the original of that feature of Herod's Temple by which the *soreg* stood at the head of the fourteen steps, which led to the treasury and other courts. The steps in Ezekiel's plan led directly to the—alternately open and trellised—spaces which were between the pillars of the colonnades. If, following the Tabernacle precedent, every alternate one of these spaces was closed by lattice-work, from their mode of construction called "windows" in the text (Ezek. XL. 25),† we then have a step in the true evolution of the people's *soreg*, as we know it in the last Jewish Temple.

The *soreg* built by Solomon surrounding his forecourt was destroyed by Shishak, and we have no means of knowing how it was reproduced in the outer court afterwards built by the kings. That it was reproduced there is, however, certain. Ezekiel's mode of doing so is possibly but a re-

* This distance, divided into three spaces, each of 30 feet in breadth, is one authority for placing a third interior colonnade between the two recorded ones of 30 feet each. The fact of this centre colonnade having been a double one naturally follows from the outline of the site. See item 81 for further evidence.

† The first mention of windows is in Ezekiel XL. 16, where we are told that such windows existed in three parts of the building: (1) in the lodges, (2) in the posts that ran round about the temple, and (3) in the *elammim*, or colonnades. It is added that the lattices were uniformly fixed on the inward side of that to which they were attached.

production, in writing, of a plan of Jewish segregation, while eating the sacrificial food—with which he was familiar before his removal to Babylon. A portion of the textual proof of the arrangement now suggested as having formed a part of Ezekiel's plan will be found in a single word (Ezek. XL. 19, 23). It is that in which we are told that at 100 cubits (120 feet) from the forefront (i.e. edge) of the inner court was a "gate," and that "over against" (i.e. opposite to) this gate was a similar one. As each of these given dimensions takes us to the head of one of the sets of steps used by Ezekiel, we can only conclude that the word "gate" is used in these two places in an unusual sense, and that it is here the equivalent of the *soreg* of later times.* The "gate" in this case had a width of 60 feet, and was a series of five alternate openings between pillars, which corresponded with five similar openings at the other side of the platform (item 72). Through these "gates" those Jews and Jewesses who were ceremonially admissible passed, to take their place at the feasting-tables which stood between the pillars of the interior colonnades.† With this, however, the architect does not now concern himself. He will return to this outer

* As to the use of the word "gate" for *soreg* see comment on Ezekiel XL. 14 in footnote on p. 51, showing that the "gate" there referred to ran on three sides of the Temple, and was the *soreg* used by the priests as means of access to the interior court of the Temple.

† The gates of the text were the north and south entrances to the dining-hall. There were similar "gates" to the east and west. (item 81), giving to the whole raised daïs the form of a cross, which was partially enclosed on every side by short lengths of lattice or trellis-work. As to its necessity and use see pp. 44–6, 360–1.

court, and, for the present, we must accompany him as he passes out of the south gate of the Temple enclosure.

Standing on the south and outer side of the 'Ir wall of the court, he notices an *exterior* colonnade, adjoining the Temple gate of exit. This structure stood above the steps that led to the gate, and was 60 feet long. On examination two other measures were found; one was that of the total length of each of the arches which formed its roof or span of roof. This was a length of 30 feet. The other was that of the distance apart at which these arches were placed. This was found to be 6 feet—from centre of post to centre—ten such pillars forming supports for the roof-timbers (items 84–7). He now prepared to leave the Temple enclosure. This he did by descending the eight steps (item 98), which led to the exterior colonnade of the south gate, the measures of which colonnade have already been given.

Descending these eight steps which led up to the exterior colonnade from the level of Mount Moriah on the south, the prophet—in order to undertake his second progress *—passed round, without (i.e. outside of) the south-east angle of the enclosure (Ezek. XL. 32), and re-entered the east gate, at which he had begun his description. He now, however, adds to what he had before told us, the information that the approach to

* For Ezekiel's subsequent progresses see Part II, chap. II. pp. 338–9.

the east gate was similar to that of the south gate. Namely, that it, too, had an exterior colonnade of the size already given, which, like that to the south gate (item 98), was approached by eight steps, thus completing the idea of the whole approach to the Temple enclosure on these two sides.

Entering the east gate, as before, the prophet now turned to the north, as previously he had turned to the south. This brought him into immediate juxtaposition with the north gate. He gives a momentary glance at its six lodges, at the "posts," carved in imitation of palm-trunks, which formed the priests' *soreg*, and at the arches of the little porch that stood within the gate. Having noted these as being similar, in structure, to those already described at the other gates, the prophet is to be conceived as passing through the north gate, to its exterior side—where, standing with him on the platform above the steps (item 100), we pause to note a variation in his descriptive sketch which is intentional.

Of each of the great exterior colonnades at the two gates of the enclosure already visited, the words are used, "The ARCHES thereof were toward the outer court" (Ezek. XL. 31, 34), i.e. they stood without the enclosure, and opened on the open space around and without the Temple—then and afterwards known as the *Chel*. But in the case of the north gate a change of expression is observable, and we read, "The POSTS thereof were toward the outer court" (Ezek. XL. 37). There were then, it may be inferred, no arches here rising above the posts, but the posts stood

free. They had the same carving of palm trees upon them as their fellows, but were lacking in their upper ornamentation and roofage. We have but to recall the law of Leviticus I. 11, that all sacrifices were to be slain on the side of the altar northward, to see that the use of the north gate being wholly different from that of the other gates, i.e. those to the east and the south (which were those of entrance and exit for worshippers), its surroundings necessarily differed from those of the other gates, and must have been specially adapted to its use as the great slaughtering-place of the Temple. The first indication of this we have in the alteration of "arches" into "posts." Others follow. The first of these additions is in the notification of there having been a chamber with its door, by the posts of the gate,* i.e. within the jamb-posts of the great north gate (Ezek. XL. 38). In this chamber were washed portions of the burnt-offerings,† as required by the Levitical law (Lev. I. 9, 13). This had hitherto been done in ten movable lavers.

Following this is a description—covering five verses (Ezek. XL. 39–43)—of the sacrificial tables and platforms, which stood, some within and some without the great gate, and of three other

* Textually "gates." The Septuagint reads "gate" here (Ezekiel XL. 38), which is here adopted. It is, however, open to grave doubt as to whether the plural reading is not correct, the reference possibly being to the open spaces of the priests' *soreg*, as in XL. 18 and XLIV. 17. In this case the chamber for washing would stand beside the *interior* court, taking the place of the ten lavers in Solomon's Temple, five of which stood on each side of the Temple.

† A similar chamber, called the washing-place, is found in a similar position in the plan of Herod's Temple.

chambers which were there—all of which are textually named as to their uses, and are conjecturally restored on the face of the plan, in harmony with Ezekiel's notes of their positions (items 92–5 and Ezek. XL. 44–6).

Having finished his investigations into and measurements of all these conveniences for the offering of "living sacrifices" at the north gate, the prophet then recorded the measure of the court to which they belonged. This was a square—"foursquare"—and was the true inner court in which the Temple and altar stood, though not that which was reserved wholly to the priests, and which we distinguish as the interior court.* Being an area, its measure was rightly taken in great cubits. These were found to be a hundred every way (150 feet), and will be found to include that strip of 30 feet wide, lying to the south, which he had previously spoken of as the "inner court without" (chap. XL. 19). The forty-seventh verse of chapter XL. is that which contains these figures—the importance and detachment of which are such that it deserves the distinction of being printed as a paragraph in itself—which it is not in any version known to us (items 35, 36).

* A "foursquare" court is Ezekiel's nomenclature, which differs from that of the Solomonic structure. In these pages a distinction is drawn between the *inner* court and the *interior* court, which latter was an oblong space lying within the inner court, as in the first Temple, and was reserved for the use of priests only. It was defined by the posts of the *soreg*. The absence of this topographical distinction between these two courts in Ezekiel's specification, however unavoidable, has been the cause of much obscurity in the minds of some of his readers. A foursquare court is one with four equal sides.

Leaving the place of sacrifice, the prophet, with his guide, now approached the house within which were enshrined the holiest memories of Israel, and which formed the earthly dwelling-place of the Most High. He entered both the porch, the Temple, and the Most Holy Place. His interior measures have been incorporated into the accompanying plan, and will be found specified, one by one, in the first Appendix to this volume (items 37–54). The same may be said of the measures taken of the outer walls of the Temple, which textually follow, and of the particulars of the side chambers, for the use of the priests, which, generally, are those of the Temple of Solomon (items 55–60). One difference between them we note. It is that, whereas there were rebatements in the walls of Solomon's Temple, on which the beams rested, in order that the beams of the side chambers should not be built into the walls of the house (1 Kings VI. 6), there were none such in the walls planned by Ezekiel. For the support of the beams of these a separate wall was built, in which the several rebatements were made. As this wall was $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits or 3 feet wide at its base, this made an addition of 6 feet in width, to the 60 feet of which Solomon's Temple consisted, when measured from north to south, the extra width given to the Temple porch being excluded in both cases. The width of the raised foundation on the outside of these walls, being given as 9 feet on either side, gives us a total of 70 cubits, or 84 feet, which Ezekiel tells us

(item 61) was the width of the ground-platform and building at its western end.*

This portion of the narrative closes with an account of five or six measurements taken in the priests' court (items 62–6). These distances were taken in ordinary medium cubits, which differentiate them from those already referred to as having been taken in large cubits, and which latter refer to the whole space of the court as an area on which to build. These, on the contrary, refer to the building-breadth of the house, east-and-west and north-and-south, giving us a smaller area. There is, therefore, no invalidation of the law that the large cubit was a surveyor's and the medium cubit a builder's measure. Both standards were in the hand of the angelic guide at the opening of the vision (Ezek. XL. 3), and each was used in harmony with its regular appropriation.

It has added not a little complexity to the narrative of the Temple plan before us that one of its most distinctive sections should be so edited as to begin in the middle of a verse, as is the case in the fifteenth verse of the forty-first chapter.

The words " the inner Temple, and the porches of the court . . . *were* ceiled with wood," introduce us into what may be termed the decorative aspect of the house.

In the earlier portion of the prophet's report of his first visit to the interior the measures stated

* In item 61 this is given as the width of the Temple porch, west of the altar space. The measure of 70 cubits, or 84 feet, is agreeable to either interpretation of the text, as this was the width of the Temple façade, and also the breadth of the stylobate or foundation behind it.

are those of masonry. In the section now begun (verses 15*b*–26*a*),* every item described is one of carpenter's or cabinet-maker's work, and also includes the wood-carving to be seen.

We have thus in the text the ordinary distinction observed between the stonework and the woodwork of a specification. They are as literally distinct here as in the offices of any architect of our day. Recognition of this fact may assist us to the solution of one of the greatest difficulties of the case. It is that as to the "closed windows" of verse 26. That this was *not* the lattice-work which filled in the openings in the Temple walls above the line of the outer side chambers is apparent, as this has separate mention (XLI. 17, and last part of previous verse), it being stated that these "windows" were "covered" by an extension of the panelling which rose from the floor upwards. This interior panelling or wainscoting was elaborately carved with representations of palm trees and cherubs—being a modification of the carving in Solomon's Temple, which was of palm trees, cherubs, and festoons of flowers (1 Kings VI. 29). Opposite the window openings in the wall† the wood lining was prob-

* The late Professor A. B. Davidson anticipates me in saying, *in loco*, "There should be a full stop at porch," in verse 26. Cp. p. 328.

† The side-walls of Ezekiel's Temple being 75 cubits long, outside, and the builder's rule not allowing of any unnecessary infraction of the cubit, it was inevitable that the placing of the window openings should be as follows :—

7 spaces of walling, each of 9 cubits = 63 cubits.
6 window openings, each of 2 cubits = 12 cubits.
Total 75 cubits.

These lattice windows were, doubtless, like those in Solomon's Temple, "broad within and narrow without," or double-splayed openings in the walls (1 Kings VI. 4, R.V., margin).

ably perforated, or cut out into lozenge-shaped lattice-work for purposes of light and ventilation. If so, the "closed windows" of verse 26 necessarily had another application. May it not have been as the completion of the *soreg* around the priests' court that they are catalogued? The posts forming this have frequent mention, and in the close of the paragraph now before us we are told that on either side of the porch there were closed windows and palm trees (Ezek. XLI. 26), the possible solution of the difficulty being that these were rows of implanted posts, every alternate opening between which was closed with lattice-work. When noting this the prophet had just left the interior of the Temple, and stood upon its altar platform, from which the *soreg* was visible.

If the "palm trees" were carved posts placed at equal distances apart,* we have but to fill up every alternate space thus formed with fixed lattices of cedar-wood, in order to complete the picture of the *soreg*, and to bring the plan of Ezekiel into line with what we know to have existed, as the priestly court, in the Temple of Herod. These lattices were then the "closed windows" of verses 16 and 26, those mentioned in the former verse being in the Temple side-walls, and those in the latter verse being the lattice-work, which by its omission between every third

* They are thought to have been cedar-wood posts, about 5 cubits high, as in the Tabernacle, carved so as to imitate the rough bark of the palm, in imitation of those originally used around the Tabernacle. See the same arrangement detailed in the volume on *Solomon's Temple*, pp. 294, 310. Cp. second footnote to p. 330.

and fourth post gave the *soreg* its character of "gate."

Ezekiel now leaves the Temple chambers and their environs, and returns there only to give the locality of one of the two kitchens—hitherto unmentioned. Nothing that follows his account of "the inner court without," now to be given, has any reference to the inner court proper, the measures of which are completed with the close of the forty-first chapter.

On leaving it his steps are first bent toward a certain delimited space of 20 great cubits (30 feet) in width, which belonged to the area of the inner court, as that has already been given, i.e. a square of 150 feet (items 35, 36). This narrow space he had already, on his first visit to the outer court, named "the inner court without" (Ezek. XL. 19). He now returns to this locality, which he further describes as being built upon in chambers with a double set of galleries. The buildings so placed he describes as standing between a pavement walk of 10 cubits (12 feet) breadth on the north (items 70, 71) and a certain flagged pavement, which belonged to the outer court, on the south.* It follows that the buildings themselves must have had a breadth of 12 great cubits,

* From the fact that this 12-feet walk is called "the lower pavement" (Ezekiel XL. 18), it follows that the southern large court was paved, and that it stood on a higher level than the inner court. Standing in one of the Levitical galleries of the inner court without, and looking south, Ezekiel tells us that he had a view of the whole of the area of this court in the words, "Lo! before the Temple were an hundred cubits" (item 74).

or 15 ordinary cubits, both being of the value of 18 feet, so as to make up the 30 feet of which the delimited space consisted.

It is these buildings to which our attention is now called—the one fact about them already substantiated being that they had an over-all breadth of 18 feet. To this must be added their length—which was 50 building cubits, or 60 feet (item 73). This was the over-all length of each block.

The specification does not tell us, in so many words, that there were *two* blocks of buildings of these dimensions, but this will appear as we proceed, both from the number of thirty rooms, which they contained (Ezek. XL. 17), and from other considerations of space and structure.

In order to distinguish these sets of chambers from the Temple side chambers, to be described in a subsequent chapter (Part II, chap. III.), they are known in these pages as the Levitical chambers—in contradistinction to the priests' chambers, which were those outside of and adjoining the Temple structure.

One reason for this general nomenclature is this. Of the whole number of thirty rooms in the two blocks, ten only, i.e. those upon the ground-floor, were reserved as dining-places for the priests. Here they were to eat the flesh of the less holy heave-offerings and their accompaniments (Ezek. XLIV. 29, 30), in accordance with the ancient law of Leviticus (Lev. VI. 17, 18).

These ten chambers opened upon a paved walk of 10 cubits (12 feet) breadth, and their doors

were (i.e. the door of each one of them) "toward the north," i.e. opened directly upon the "walk."

In concluding his account of these chambers in chapter XLII., verses 13, 14, the prophet repeats * certain warnings given to him as to certain "north chambers and south chambers." These directions could not have applied to the ten rooms in the Levitical blocks, inasmuch as these lay east and west of one another. They, therefore, referred to the side chambers of the Temple—one-half of which number lay "north" of the building, and the other half "south" of it. In these lower rooms of the Temple side chambers the *most* holy things were to be eaten, and the holy garments changed (Ezek. XLIV. 19). These special sacrificial meats are specified as the meal-offering (i.e. of every burnt sacrifice), the sin-offering, and the guilt-offering (Ezek. XLII. 13).

The most usual sacrifice, however, is not here included. It was that of the peace-offering. Of this the breast and a shoulder were "the portion of Aaron and his sons for ever from the children of Israel" (Exod. XXIX. 28; Lev. VII. 34). It was these portions which were eaten in the ten ground-floor chambers of "the inner court without," and it is to them that reference is made in

* The cause of the repetition, given in nearly the same words, is this: In the former case (XLII. 13, 14), the priests are prohibited from leaving the dining-rooms in the Levitical chambers, and going into the people's or southern court, without changing their garments of ministration. In the latter case they are implicitly forbidden to do this when serving in the inner court or sanctuary (XLIV. 27, 29). The prohibition thus applies to *both* sets of priestly chambers.

the last words of the direction to the priests to change their garments * before leaving the priestly court, and approaching "that which pertaineth to the people" (Ezek. XLII. 14). These portions of the sacrifices were boiled in the outer court (items 82, 83), the *most* holy things being prepared as food, in a corner of the inner court, as will presently appear.†

The *most* holy things did not leave the Most Holy court of the Temple after offering. The priestly portions of these were cooked in the spaces immediately adjoining the Temple,† and certainly partaken of in one of the tiers of side chambers adjoining the Temple ‡ (Ezek. XLVI. 20).

It was not so with the *less* holy things, as the custom of the priests in the days of the Judges, as recorded in the history of Eli, abundantly proves (1 Sam. II. 12–17).

These were those portions which were to be eaten in the ten ground-floor chambers facing the

* The reason given for this injunction is a capital embodiment of the cardinal principle of Jewish Temple worship, which was that of cleansing and sanctity *attained by contact*. "They shall put on other garments, that they sanctify not the people with their garments" (Ezek. XLIV. 19). Cp. Leviticus VI. 18, "Whosoever toucheth them shall be holy."

† i.e. in the angle of the wall between the north gate and the north-west corner of the enclosure. The prophet surveyed the culinary spot from one of the priests' chambers on the north side of the Temple, and describes it as "a place on the hinder part westward" (Ezek. XLVI. 19, 20).

‡ In harmony with the above, Kimchi, on Ezekiel XLII., reads, "The most holy offerings were eaten within the Court of Israel, *more innerly*. But in the Court of the Priests, which was within the Court of Israel, there were chambers of the priests, and *there* they ate their holy things."

Temple in "the inner court without," according to the building scheme of the prophet-architect.

The discussion of the question as to the mode of construction both of the priests' side chambers adjoining the Temple and of the Levitical chambers standing to the south of the Temple being reserved to the last chapter, we notice here the evidence upon which the two rows of upper chambers in each of the blocks separately erected in the space between the two courts (i.e. the inner and the outer courts) were given to the Levites of the Temple, for their use, whether as dining-places or sleeping-rooms—possibly as both.

In his forty-fifth chapter (verses 4, 5) the prophet draws a clear distinction between the possessions to be given to the priests and those to be given to the Levites, the ministers or attendants of the house. It is the more necessary to emphasize this distinction here, as in the chapter immediately preceding this one he uses the dubious phrase of "the priests the Levites," * the whole context showing, as does the parenthesis, "the sons of Zadok," that he has in mind only those who were of Aaronic and Zadokian descent (Ezek. XLIV. 15).

In the previous section of this chapter (XLIV. 10–14) the duties and limitations of the Levites proper are insisted upon. Hence, when the

* The priests referred to are confined to those who were of the tribe of Levi, and were in this sense "Levites," the term being used in its primitive and genealogical, and not its ecclesiastical sense (Ezek. XLIV. 15).

future allocation of property came under review, there was already a clear line of cleavage between the two orders of Temple servitors. To the Levites were given (besides a certain portion of land) "twenty chambers" (Ezek. XLV. 5) in the house itself, i.e. within the Temple enclosure.

These chambers were given for the use and service of the gate-porters, and of those Levites who were to stand before the people and slay their sacrifices. They might also, we learn from the same passage (Ezek. XLIV. 11), slay the burnt-offering, but they might not touch any of the holy vessels, or enter within the priestly *soreg* of the Temple.

This transfer of priestly and sacrificial duties to the Levites was probably not a new one. Originally each offerer of a peace-offering slew his own sacrifice (Lev. III. 2, 8, 13). But there were obvious objections to this, especially in the case of women sacrificers, and as the place where they slew the sacrifice was without the priestly court—albeit within the inner court of the Temple —the duty of using the sacrificial knife naturally fell to the attendant Levites. It was, therefore, fitting that for them—in the reconstituted State and rebuilt Temple—some provision should be made, by which they were to have a *locus standi* within the enclosure walls of the Temple itself. This was given to them in the twenty chambers (Ezek. XLV. 5) which formed the first and second floors of the two blocks of buildings, put up on the outer edge of the inner court.

With the description of these Levitical chambers the official measuring of the "inner house," i.e. all the buildings within the enclosure walls, came to an end (Ezek. XLII. 15).

The heavenly guide did not, however, leave the prophet's presence till, for a second time (see Ezek. XLIII. 1–5), the glory of the Lord filled the house of the Lord, and, standing beside the altar, Ezekiel fell upon his face in a rapture of worship and adoration. When he again looked up the celestial visitant was gone. Between these two epiphanies (Ezek. XLIV. 5) the principal event of the next chapter took place, which was the delimitation and consecration of the ground outside the enclosing wall, and the formation of the "sanctuary" or *chel* of history. This sanctification forms the main subject of the next chapter, and is followed by an account of the prophet's third and his final progress in and about the house.

"The altar was before the house," * and within the foursquare court (Ezek. XL. 47). That it was an altar of the size and description given by Ezekiel (chap. XLIII. 13–17) is shown by the fact that it is midway in size and elevation between

* This statement, in itself, is enough to show that cubits of different lengths were used by Ezekiel. In XL. 47 he gives the area of the inner court as a square of 100 cubits (items 35, 36); and in XLI. 13 it is stated that the length of the house with the vacant space before it (i.e. that between the Temple and the altar) was 100 cubits long (item 65). The cubits here used could not, then, have been of the same length as the before-mentioned ones, inasmuch as they define an area which lay within another area, and yet left room for the erection of an altar.

the altars of Solomon's and Herod's Temples. The details are minute and technical, and unsuitable to these pages, but the drawing on page 46 will show how they work out. Particulars of details are given in items 21–34 of Appendix I.

The fact that Ezekiel's specification of the altar was given in large cubits, as stated by him, made a difference in the distance at which the brazen network, on which the sacrifices were laid, rested above the fire-hearth. In the original altar this was at the distance of $21\frac{3}{5}$ inches.* In the altar described by Ezekiel the space was two great cubits or 36 inches, and the cavity above had a depth of one cubit only or 18 inches. The three cubits of height of which the first altar nominally consisted were thus retained, the difference in their distribution arising from the fact of the large cubit being here used, and of there being a larger surface of grating, i.e. a square of 18 feet, divided into sections (item 22), for the reception of the sacrificial portions, and this demanding a corresponding depth of hearth for the reception of wood fires below.

Josephus was familiar with the Temple arrangements for sacrifices, and he tells us that at the first, i.e. in the Tabernacle times, "the ground underneath the altar received the fire from the hearth, because it had no base to receive it" (*Antiquities*, III.6, § 8). The altars built by and after the time of Solomon had bases or platforms, but it is probable that the old order as to the fire-hearth was observed, and that the fires were lit on the

* See *The Tabernacle*, p. 181.

face of the unhewn stones, mortared together, which formed the upper surface of the platform-base.

These two surfaces, one for the sacrifices and one for the fire, are termed by Ezekiel *harel* and *ariel*, translated "upper altar" and "altar hearth" in our latest version (Ezek. XLIII. 15). In a memorable passage Isaiah (XXIX. 1) sees "woe" coming to "Ariel," because the feasts of the year will come round, and there will be none to kindle the altar fires in the city where David dwelt. This prophecy was fulfilled during the years of the captivity, when, for half a century, the Temple and altar lay in ruins, and the worship of Jehovah was intermitted. The emotions of the faithful during these years are tenderly depicted in the strophes of Psalm LXXIX., and, with still greater literary effect, in Psalm LXXXIX., where the historical division between the past and the present occurs at the "selah" of verse 37. Both poems are, therefore, songs of exile.

CHAPTER II

THE TEMPLE TERRACE OR BULWARK

BEFORE leaving the interior of the Temple and the inner sanctuary Ezekiel noticed that in the former were two articles of furniture : one was an altar of incense, the other a table for shewbread.* Both "were of wood" and unplated with gold, as were those in the Temple of Solomon (Ezek. XLI. 22).

The mention of these—and of no other articles —as being the contents of the outer chamber indicates that there was no attempt to replace the Ark of the Covenant in the Holy of Holies of the second Temple, though a golden candlestick, made of the precious metal that Ezra afterwards brought, probably stood later in the holy place. The restored nation would be too poor to attempt gold fittings to its vessels, and the two tablets of Commandments being irrecoverably lost, there was no need for an ark in which to enshrine them.

Such maimed insignia of the Divine presence

* The shewbread table depicted on the arch of Titus was of the same length and height, i.e. 18·9 inches. See article on the Spoils of the Temple in *Quarterly Statement* of P. E. Fund for October, 1906, pp. 306–315.

as the new Temple was to contain marked a step in the culture of the people towards greater faith in the unseen, and less of dependence for the Divine approval upon costly material and ornate workmanship. It would need all the prophet's eloquence and authority to accustom his fellow exiles by anticipation to take this step in advance, and without the sanction of a divinely-given vision to this effect, even *he* would have failed in getting them to accept the truth that Jehovah might be as well served beside wooden tables and altars as beside golden ones. We thus have, in brief, a reason for the casting of these specifications into the form of a prophetic revelation, the vision of which to Ezekiel was as real as were the materials with which he dealt in his writings. It will be remembered that while Ezekiel showed the pattern of the House to Israel, and let them measure it, he wrote all the subsequent laws thereof in their sight (Ezek. XLIII. 10, 11), so that on the return there could have been no ignorance or forgetfulness as to their existence.

Another element of the past which could not be reproduced were the two brazen pillars that stood before the Temple porch. Jachin and Boaz were no more. Unable to replace them, the designer of the new Temple fell back upon a construction which had belonged to Solomon's porch of pillars, or Judgment Hall. This had before it certain "pillars and thick beams" (1 Kings VII. 6). These were probably great balks of timber standing upright, which supported a screen before the structure. Similar

balks or thick beams of wood were accordingly placed by Ezekiel upon the platform and before the face of the Temple porch * (items 37, 38). To these a two-leaved wicket gate was hung (items 39, 40). These cedar posts were probably hollow in structure, as were Jachin and Boaz, whose place they took. They may have been carved in relief.

In the next verse (Ezek. XLI. 26) there should be a full stop at "porch," and a paraphrase of it would read: "There was, on either side of the porch, a *soreg* formed of posts, carved into the likeness of palm trunks,† with lattices."

The closing sentence of this chapter, as thus read, is a summary of its principal structural features, these being the side chambers of the house and the thick beams which stood before it. This is not the summary that a modern writer would make, and is designed to present the principal *external* features of the new Temple by him who had designed it and seen it in vision, and who wished to leave a true impression of it on the minds of his readers. These were its two

* At Tiryns, 11th century B.C., in order to protect the face of the antæ of the portico-in-antis, and in conjunction with the two columns of the portico—to carry the architrave—vertical posts or planks of wood were employed. These were secured by wooden dowels to a stone base (*Encyclo. Brit.*, ninth edition, vol. XXV, p. 605; art. "Architecture."

† The "palm trees" of Ezekiel's specification (which have thirteen mentions), when described as being carved on posts, may derive some illumination from a stela of King Nabu-ablu-iddin (about 900 B.C.), found at *Abu Habbah*, the ancient Sepharvaim, representing the shrine of the Sun-god, Samas, supported by wooden pillars, *covered with plates of bronze*, and overlapping each other, so as to resemble the trunk of a palm tree (Babelon's *Oriental Antiquities*, pp. 12, 42).

most striking features when looked at from a near distance.

On now leaving the Temple the chief external features of which he had just recapitulated, Ezekiel was once more conducted forth from the Temple enclosure, his gate of exit being the east gate (Ezek. XLII. 15). This was done immediately on his departure from the holiest place of all, for a manifest and especial purpose. That purpose was to give to him, and through him to the whole House of Israel—i.e. the exiles of both northern and southern kingdoms—another lesson as to the way in which Jehovah was, in the future, to be reverenced and worshipped. Hitherto He had been conceived of as dwelling in the "thick darkness" of the inmost sanctuary, and, by a series of topographical gradations, the sanctity of the first Temple had declined from that spot. The inevitable result was that, in the early days of Temple worship, Jehovah was commonly thought of as a local Deity—a Deity who was omnipotent within the sphere which He had chosen for Himself, but whose knowledge and power decreased with increasing distance from His shrine. This was the old-world notion of "the gods of the countries"—the flight of Jonah to Tarshish being perhaps the best-known illustration of how deeply infected with the same limitation of thought were some of the best men in early Israel. It was to combat this almost ineradicable parochialism of spirit that Ezekiel was now taken, through the east gate, and away to the gate

that looked toward the east,* a spot hitherto unvisited by him.

The measurer then told off $83\frac{1}{3}$ reeds,† as one side of a square, called, in Ezekiel XLVIII. 21, "the sanctuary of the house." This area he now proceeded to delimit on each of its four sides. The size of this square was 500 large cubits, or 750 feet on every side, and towards its north-western centre stood the 'Ir, an enclosure of 300 feet by 150 feet, surrounded by its heavy wall of 9 feet in thickness.

This sacred square is stated to have been measured off in order to serve a definite purpose, which was "to make a separation between that which was holy, and that which was common" (Ezek. XLII. 20). The Septuagint version

* Two easterly gates are indicated in the text. One is described as "The gate whose prospect is toward the east," mentioned in chapters XLII. 15 and XLIII. 4. This is undoubtedly that gate of the 'Ir which fronted the Temple porch. Another is described as "The gate that looketh toward the east," in chapter XLIII. 1. It was as he stood in *this* gate that the glory of the Lord passed through the other one. The topography of the text demands that the latter-named gate should lie more to the north and east than the other one. "The gate of the Foundation," in the outer wall of the Haram area, represented now by the Golden Gate, is the only possible other gate. (Cp. *Solomon's Temple*, pp. 109, 110.) This gate stood at the north-east corner of the *chel* or terrace, as is shown in the frontispiece: its position there being in harmony with the statement that there the measuring began.

† The reading of the Septuagint and of the Vulgate of Jerome is "cubits of reeds" in Ezekiel XLII. 16, instead of "reeds," as in the English versions. The result is that we have in this correction 500 large cubits as the size of the square, instead of a figure thirty-six times that size, for which no room could be found on the summit of Moriah. The error of omission in the Hebrew, transferred to many languages, has misled and puzzled myriads of readers. The true reading preserved in the Greek and Latin translations is one of the many debts which we owe to those venerable documents.

reads "to make a separation between the Sanctuary and the outer wall that belonged to the design of the house." This citation introduces us to a new feature of the square, which is, that it was surrounded with a wall. That there was such a wall is plainly affirmed by Ezekiel in the words, "It had a wall round about" (Ezek. XLII. 20). As there is no mention of a gate it is probable that the wall was not a continuous one, but was built in separate sections, and that its form of construction followed that of the *soreg* of the Temple, by which every alternate space was open and allowed of passage.

This is the more likely from the fact that in a later chapter we get another glimpse of this "holy place." In this passage (Ezek. XLV. 2) we are told that without and on every side of the square was to be a walk or open space of fifty cubits in width. We thus have a considerable addition given to the sanctuary area, of which it was the new and repeated law of the house that the whole limit thereof—i.e. its delimited portion within the walk—shall be *most holy*, upon the top of the mountain (Ezek. XLIII. 12).*

As we have seen, in the earlier Temple several degrees of holiness were recognized, the altar having a higher sanctity than the court without and around it, and the two chambers of the Temple having a still higher sanctity—though even between them, as used by the priests, there were different degrees of holiness. By proclaiming that the whole limit of the *chel* should be

* That it was to be such is twice stated in this verse, thus making it emphatic.

"most holy," a blow was at once given to these various gradations, and a step taken toward the realization of the idea of Jehovah's universal immanence and purity.

Holding, as we do, the opinion that Ezekiel's written Temple plan is to be taken literally, and that his scheme for the reorganization of the Hebrew constitution in Church and State was a counsel of perfection intended to be carried out on the return of the people to their land, we are compelled, at this point, to see whether the prophet's proposal for a terrace, or *chel*, to stand around the Temple was a feasible one. If the space on the summit of Moriah is insufficient for the creation of such a holy square, with a walk on each of its four sides, as has been detailed in the best texts, it follows either that the measures themselves are wrong, or that the whole scheme of the vision is one that was impracticable. The issue is one so plain and palpable that it has been submitted to and independently worked out by a competent architect, who, of course, could have no prepossessions either way. The result appears in the illustration of the front page. From this it will be seen that the outer walls given there are those of the haram area, as they stood then and as they stand to-day,* and that the cubit used is the largest of its kind, being that

* Solomon may have planned but did not build the three walls to anything like completion. "This was a work in which long ages were spent by the Jews, and by which all their sacred treasures were exhausted" (Josephus, *War*, v. 5, § 1). Solomon and Ezekiel were divided by a period of nearly four hundred years. It was during those centuries that the walls about Mount Zion were built.

"cubit of reeds" with which the Septuagint (285–200 B.C.) and the Vulgate (A.D. 366–384) have supplied us.

As the reader examines the frontispiece plan he will not fail to note some of its symmetries. There is, for instance, the suitable position of the north-east gate, i.e. the gate looking east, at one angle of the sanctuary, and the fact that the space to the south of the 'Ir is one of 200 cubits in width, and that to its north one of 100 cubits, the central position of the Temple being fixed by the Sakhrah stone,* of which it formed the altar platform. Other harmonies will suggest themselves to the appreciative and archæological student. The conclusion which it is hoped will prevail is that there is nothing in Ezekiel's figures to which, *in this matter*, exception can be taken, either on the ground of their not being workmanlike, or of their being impracticable of accomplishment on the limited summit of Mount Zion.†

Having arrived at a definite result as to the size of the "rampart" (this is the translation of the word *chel* in Lam. II. 8) which Ezekiel planned

* This famous rock, now covered by the Saracenic dome of the haram area, is the *datum* from which all the Temples took their position. This cardinal fact of sacred topography remains to be worked out in the last of this series of volumes—that on Herod's Temple. Owing to the cumulative evidence acquired from each of the Temples of Moriah, the reader is asked to accept the assurance that this point will be placed beyond the reach of honest doubt. In the meantime it is used here as an unproved working hypothesis.

† That the south-east corner of the haram area then stood where it stands now is shown in Jeremiah's topographical note, "Unto the brook Kidron, unto THE CORNER of the horse-gate toward the east" (Jer. XXXI. 40). There is no uncertainty as to the position of this gate.

around the Temple's outer walls, it may not be impossible to glean from the prophet's writings some idea of the levels of the ground as he described it. In doing this the first step is to recall the fact that two of the three outer gates of the 'Ir were each approached by a flight of eight steps, showing that the common level of the hill was some feet below the level of the main enclosure.* It will further be remembered that the landings of these steps were measured by the reed of great cubits (items 3, 4). It is inevitable that the "rise" of each step should be 9 inches, or the half of such a cubit, as we know from the tractate *Middoth* that all the steps within the enclosure, built by the other cubit, had a rise of $7\frac{1}{5}$ inches, or half a medium cubit. We thus arrive at the result that eight steps, each of 9 inches in height, gave a general difference of 6 feet in the levels of the two areas, or courts.

Within the 'Ir was a third level, that to which the prophet went up in his first visit to the outer court (Ezek. XL. 22). This was of seven steps, and gave a total height of $4\frac{1}{5}$ feet above the other

* The two great gates here referred to are those on the north and south sides of the enclosure. The third outer gate was that to the east. This, likewise, had eight steps of the same height as the others, but they gave the visitor even admission to the surface-level of the great "mastaba" or base on which the altar stood. The outer level of the *chel* to the north of the enclosure was, therefore, 6 feet lower than the floor of the *chel* outside the east gate. On the south the ascent to the gate there is affected by the probability that the two principal courts were not of the same height above the Valley of the Kedron, but that the eight steps of the south entrance gate were attained by a gradual slope below them. The general result is that the level of Mount Moriah, in those times, sloped downward toward the *El Wad* valley, which lay to the south-east of the Antonia citadel.

part of the court. The descent of the same number of steps described in Ezekiel XL. 26 shows that the ground elevation, on which the feasting colonnades stood, was a comparatively small and isolated one. It was probably built up of loose earth.

It will, doubtless, come as a surprise to some readers to hear that the Temple itself did not stand on the highest point or peak of Moriah. Such was the case.* Its site having originally been fixed by that of the altar, which was built on the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, it was ever after deemed impossible to move it, owing to the theophany which had occurred there.

That Ezekiel's planning of the *chel*, or terrace, was not a wholly new development we learn from the use of the word *chel* in earlier writings. Thus, in one of those writings of Isaiah which indubitably belong to the eighth century B.C. and to the time of Hezekiah, we have this reference to the complex of buildings which crowned the sacred mount—

> We have a strong city! ('Ir).
> Salvation will He appoint for walls and "bulwarks" (*chel*).
> Open ye the gates that the righteous nation,
> Which keepeth truth, may enter in.
> (Isaiah XXVI. 1, 2.)

In the Jewish tractate *Middoth* are several references to the *chel* of the Temple, which will

* It is possible that the three principal gates of the 'Ir stood on different levels. (Cp. *Solomon's Temple*, pp. 341–2.) In this case the northern gate would be the lowest. Six feet above it stood the great east gate. Six feet higher still stood the south gate. Further discussion upon this point is reserved till the appearance of the volume on Herod's Temple, concerning which the information as to levels is much more full.

naturally be more appropriately dealt with in the reconstruction of the Herodian Temple. It may, however, be stated, in anticipation, that all these bear out the contention that the *chel* was that portion of the hill of Moriah which lay outside the Temple enclosure, and was a well-defined area which did not coincide with the whole space now contained within the non-rectangular outer walls of the haram area, the shortest length of which—i.e. that on the south—is 922 feet.*

Somewhere in the ocean of the commentary of the Talmud are these words, cited by Colonel Conder from Professor Constantine L'Empereur, 1630, which exactly express the topographical truth: "'The mountain of the House' † was, indeed, much greater than five hundred cubits would contain, but to the outer part of it the sanctity did not extend" (*Tent Work in Palestine*, vol. III, p. 356).

From the taking of the exterior measures of the *chel*, Ezekiel describes himself as having been again brought to the east gate of the Temple, where he received sundry admonitions for the

* The word *chel* also occurs in the Hebrew text in these and other passages: 2 Samuel x. 15, 1 Kings xxi. 23, Obadiah 20, Nahum iii. 8, Psalm cxxii. 7, and Isaiah xxxvi. 2. The references are not uniformly to the *chel* of the Temple, the word being sometimes used in a figurative sense, as in the last of the references just given, where we are told that Rabshakeh came to Jerusalem with a "chel"—the reserve forces or "rampart" of Sennacherib's army being meant.

† This locution, taken from the citation in Isaiah ii. 2, enables us to understand that wheresoever it occurs a clearly-defined space is meant, which was a large portion—but a portion only—of the surface of Moriah, being in fact, in the second Temple, the sanctuary of 750 feet square.

guidance of the restored people, the principal one being that, except on the Sabbath Day, the great gate was to be closed, and the wicket gates only used for the admission of worshippers. This is almost the only reference to such "wickets"; the great east gate opposite the Temple entrance being sometimes called the "Way of the Porch" in Ezekiel's narrative (Ezek. XLIV. 3; XLVI. 2). They are, however, described as having existed both in Solomon's and Herod's Temples. Entering one of these wickets, exactly defined as "the entry which was at the side of the gate" (Ezek. XLVI. 19),* the prophet was taken up into one of

* The section of Ezekiel's book which begins here and ends with XLVII. 12, would seem to have been misplaced. It is a portion of the angelic vision, and should follow XLIV. 4, of which narrative it is the fitting conclusion. When writing was usually done on skins of parchment, nothing was easier than the misplacing of one of these. That parchment, either animal or vegetable (papyrus), was ordinarily used by the prophets is shown in the instance of Jehoiakim's cutting with a penknife the roll written by Jeremiah (Jer. XXXVI. 23). This will account for the fact of no remnants of that literature having been recovered in the Palestinian excavations.

The Babylonian mode of writing and drawing upon clay tablets was also known and practised. Thus Ezekiel portrayed upon a tile the figure of a city, intended to represent Jerusalem (Ezek. IV. 1).

Similar tiles or tablets were used when public notices, which all might read, were intended to be exhibited in Jerusalem. On one such clay tablet, intended to be hung up in the city, Isaiah wrote the legend, "MAHER SHALAL HASH BAZ" (i.e. "Swift the spoil, speedy the prey"), to signify the early occupation, by Assyria, of Damascus and Samaria, then threatening Judah (Isaiah VIII. 1). This instance of the mode of Babylonian writing is of special interest, as the prophet is recorded to have written his prophecy in the common characters of the day, i.e. Hebrew, and not in cuneiform; and also to have had his signature to the legend attested in the way common to cuneiform tablets by the impress, on the clay of the tablet, of the seals of two witnesses, one of whom was Uriah, the High Priest (2 Kings XVI. 10), and the other Zechariah, son of Jeberechiah.

The pregnant sentence contained in Hab. II. 4, "THE JUST SHALL LIVE BY HIS FAITH," was similarly made "plain upon tables" of clay.

the northern side chambers adjoining the Temple. Here he looked down on a place, already referred to, on the westward or hinder part of the inner court as that where they baked and boiled the *most holy* sacrifices, which were to be eaten by priests only. Leaving this, he was again conducted into the outer court to see the similar arrangements there made—on a much larger scale—for the preparation of the ordinary sacrifices of peace-offerings as food for the Hebrew laity. These involved the enclosing of each of the four corners of the southern court with a low wall, within which were rows of rude fireplaces, over which were cauldrons bricked in* (items 82, 83).

The prophet's subsequent progresses were two—

(*a*) To the east door of the house and into the inner court, where he measured the great altar of sacrifice.†

(*b*) The exit through the north gate and round about (i.e. outside the enclosure), to the south

* (1) The meaning of the word *qatar* in Ezekiel XLVI. 22 (its only occurrence) is uncertain. In the A.V. it is translated "joined," with a marginal reading of "made with chimneys." In the R.V. it is given as "enclosed," with an alternative reading of "joined on." In preference to either of these is the version of that eminent Hebraist, John Lightfoot, who cites Talmudic authorities to prove that "the word meaneth nothing but these buildings were not floored over," i.e. not roofed (*Prospect of the Temple*, chap. XVIII. 15).

(2) In the throne chamber at *Nimroud*, the ancient Calah, once the capital of Tiglath-Pileser II, Layard found two plain copper vessels or cauldrons, about 2½ feet in diameter and 3 feet deep, resting upon a stand of brickwork, with their mouths closed by large tiles. Similar cauldrons were found in other parts of the palace (Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, chap. VIII.).

† These measures are given and illustrated in Part I, chap. III. p. 46, and are more particularly specified in Appendix I, items 21–34.

gate of the outer court, has to do with the vision of the Waters of Life flowing from the Temple (Ezek. XLVII. 1–12).

The topography and geography of this portion of the vision should now present no difficulties. Its profound spiritual significance takes it beyond the scope of these pages to deal with. Any exegesis of this missionary parable which does not take note of the structure of the Temple, and which, in fact, is not based upon it, may be deemed to be seriously defective in one of its most material particulars; as, also, is any conjectural reconstruction of the Temple which does not recognize that all these goodly buildings were not meant to conduce to the vainglory of men; and were not an end in themselves, but were meant to achieve in the spirit of man a sense of his own sinfulness, and to develop in him a sense of the holiness of that God in whose honour and by whose command they were erected.

Having thus, in thought, traced the ambulations of the Babylonian prophet in his mental wanderings in and about the Temple, we have thus far found no cause for suggesting any alteration of his figures; still less any reason for thinking that those figures were the product of a visionary brain, and were meant to describe an airy nothingness. On the contrary, there are a compactness and a cohesion about the descriptions given, which show Ezekiel to have been a master of the builder's craft and to have written his specifications in the most methodical manner

then possible. This very compactness of statement—involving many references from one part to another—together with the poverty of the language in which he wrote—compelling him in many cases to use one word in several meanings—have tended, more than anything else, to create in the popular mind an impression of Ezekiel's unpracticalness, often subjectively veiled under a sense of his millenarian spirituality. That he was both spiritual and practical there should be no room for doubting. Nothing is more apparent, throughout the whole treatment of his subject, than the awful reverence which he habitually felt for the Presence which was to dwell within and around the walls whose outlines he drew. This feeling comes out in the erection of the wall which divided the holy chambers. Where Solomon had but a veil and a wooden partition, we now find six feet of solid masonry, with doors* and an inner veil. Where Solomon had planned rebatements in the outer walls of the Temple, there Ezekiel allowed none, but transferred the rebates to a wall specially built to receive them.

To him, likewise, is due the conception of a set of outer galleries to either side of the Temple, that it might be more effectually guarded both

* These doorways were much wider than those of the first Temple. That leading into the outer Temple was one-half the width of the interior, as per items 43–47. That leading into the inner Temple was, as nearly as possible, one-third of the same width, as per items 50–52.

That the statement of XLI. 12, "The wall of the building was 5 cubits thick," applies to these partition walls, as well as to the outer walls, is demonstrated by the Temple length of item No. 63, as amplified by details in Note on page 376.

by day and night. It is certain that Solomon's Temple was deficient of these.

Not less obvious than his lofty sense of what was befitting the Temple of Jehovah is his sense of what was becomingly due to his fellow-priests and the Levites who were the porters of the gates. For the use of these was planned the two blocks of chambers and the four-and-twenty lodges in which they might stand during inclement weather whilst keeping their watches. The conception of these last is complementary to that of him who wrote—

> Bless ye the Lord!
> All ye servants of the Lord,
> Which by night stand in the house of the Lord.
> (Psalm CXXXIV. 1.)

Again—

> Hallelujah! praise ye the name of the Lord;
> Praise, O ye servants of the Lord:
> Ye that stand in the house of the Lord,
> In the courts of the house of our God.
> (Psalm CXXXV. 1, 2.)

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST AND SECOND TEMPLES COMPARED

SO great, in the main, is the similarity between the specification of Solomon's Temple and that of Ezekiel that it is certain the plan of the latter was not drawn from memory only. Nor was it drawn solely from the descriptive writings of Kings and Chronicles, aided by memory. There are several particulars common to the two structures which are not contained in the writings, but which, in their exactitude, must have been known to Ezekiel from plans or "patterns." In favour of this view is the testimony of Rabbi Maimonides, who says: "The men who built the second Temple, when they built it in the days of Ezra, they built it like Solomon's; and in some things according to the explanation of Ezekiel."

One of these coincidences is the size of the area upon which both Temples stood. In the case of the earlier building, a great modification of this had taken place during the time of the kings of Judah. Originally the two courts stood east and west of one another. In the time of Jeremiah and Ezekiel they stood north and south of one another, as is shown at large in the volume on *Solomon's Temple*, pp. 313–19.

It is to this later ground-arrangement that the prophet reverts in the conception of his written plan, the 'Ir described as "fronting" him being an enclosed space of 300 feet long by 150 feet wide, the two squares lying north and south of one another (items 35, 36, and 75).

Next in architectural importance to the site was the size of the two holy chambers, which formed the Temple proper. Here no variation was permitted from the dimensions of those in the Temple of Solomon. While, however, the rooms were of the same dimensions as before, a difference was made in the mode of their separation from one another. Hitherto a low wooden partition had divided them. Now a six-feet wall did so, as is shown in the given length of the building in item 63, compared with Note on p. 376. In each case a thick curtain hung on the inner side of the partition (1 Macc. i. 24). It is probable that the dividing wall of Ezekiel was a low one and did not reach to the ceiling, so that, as before,* the smoke and fumes of incense burnt in the outer hall might reach the inner one. This supposition receives support from the fact that while the interior face of the four walls—like those in the Temple burnt by Nebuchadrezzar—were carved with figures of cherubim and palm trees, such carving did not rise above the lintel of the entrance door (Ezek. xli. 20). The implication is that, the door being 10 cubits high and the room 20 cubits in height, the carving on

* Cp. *Solomon's Temple*, pp. 278–9.

all the walls was of a uniform elevation above the floor, and did not anywhere reach higher than the lintel of the door.

It will be remembered that in the dimensions of the Temple sanctioned by the edict or firman of Cyrus, nothing is said as to one of its three dimensions—its length (Ezra VI. 2). This allowed of the new Temple being built of any convenient length, that of Ezekiel being 90 feet long in consequence (item 63). This did not include the area of the Temple porch,* inclusive of which its length was 108 feet. Its permitted width was 60 cubits, or 72 feet. Its actual width—cells and galleries included (without the shoulders of the porch)—was less than this by 6 feet. The façade measured 84 feet across (item 61), that of Solomon's Temple having been 72 feet, or 60 cubits.†

While we have the edict of Cyrus before us it may be opportune to look at his other dimension. This limited the height of the Temple to "three score cubits." That this height referred, not to the ridge of the Temple roof, but to the total height of the porch before the Temple, is apparent: as the size of the Temple chambers was limited to interiors of 20 cubits, from floor to ceiling.

We have, happily, evidence from a trust-

* According to item 42, the floor-width of the porch was 12 feet. The east gable-wall of the Temple porch gave 6 feet more to this, so that the total length of each of its side walls was 108 feet, as given in item 63.

† See *Solomon's Temple*, p. 248.

worthy source showing that the tower or porch elevation of the second Temple was no more than 60 cubits, as was required by the edict. In his *Antiquities* (XV. 2, § 1) Josephus reports the substance of a speech which Herod the Great made to a national assembly of the Jews, in which he announced to them his intention to rebuild the then standing Temple at his own cost. In an indirect and kingly way he asked their opinion upon this matter, their subsequent silence being taken to involve consent to his project. The only reason he adduced why they should favour his scheme was that their present Temple wanted 60 cubits in height as compared with the first Temple which Solomon built. The porch of this is known to have had an elevation of 120 cubits. We may, therefore, draw the certain conclusion that the height of the Temple porch, from 516 B.C. to 20 B.C., was 60 cubits, or 72 feet.*

At the laying of the broad "foundation" (not the foundation stone) of the second Temple, fifty years after the destruction of the first, many of the old men wept when they saw the pattern of the new and remembered the old house (Ezra III. 12). In the lowered façade of the Temple tower, as well as in the fact that it had no glory of gold on its walls, its ceilings, or its floors, we have the reason of their grief. To them the prophet Haggai (II. 3, 9) declared that though its glory was "as nothing" in comparison of what had been, yet its latter glory shall be greater than

* For a fuller report of Herod's speech on this occasion see pp. 295–7.

that of the former Temple.* In this way, by ever appealing to the spiritual standard of the Messianic hope, did the prophetic function discharge its mission and justify its existence.

It is unnecessary to repeat the arguments in favour of the thesis that Solomon's Temple stood upon a raised platform. These have already been given to the public in the volume on that structure. But to them may be added another from the Book of Ezra, which states that the weeping of the old men took place, when this house, i.e. in its drawings, was laid before their eyes, by those who "had seen the first house STANDING ON ITS FOUNDATION" (Ezra III. 12, margin).

That Ezekiel's Temple was similarly planned to stand upon a stylobate of cut stone, which, like the other, was 6 cubits in height, we know from his statement that "the house had a raised basement round about" it (Ezek. XLI. 8), and that the foundations of the side chambers on their upper surface were a full reed of 6 cubits, or 9 feet, to the "joining," i.e. to the point at which they met the perpendicular wall of the Temple gallery (item 57). This does not give us

* These words bring into relief a singular Jewish custom and idiom. This was to speak of the Temple in all its permutations and rebuildings as a single structure. To Haggai there were not two Temples, but one. Hence we must understand his prophecy of its "greater glory" in the Jewish sense and in the sense in which Malachi spoke of it: "The Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his Temple, even the messenger of the covenant whom ye delight in" (Malachi III. 1). These words had their fulfilment in the *third* Temple built by Herod. Yet all three are, by the Rabbis, habitually reckoned as one. In doing so they are at one with the sacred writers.

the height of the stylobate, which is contained in an earlier verse (XLI. 5), and is given as 6 cubits (item 55), the prophet immediately adding the information that the breadth of the lowest tier of priests' chambers—which, like those in the first Temple, were hidden in the foundation platform—was 4 cubits (item 56). In order to show that the length of 6 cubits was an upright one, the prophet calls it the measure of "the WALL of the house," though the stylobate was a substruction and not a portion of the edifice proper, but in this way it is conveyed that the measure is a short *perpendicular* one.

The Temple treasuries were small strong-rooms originally built on either side of the Temple porch to contain the holy vessels of the altar and the Temple, and also the regalia of the crown. The contents of these treasuries had been a constant source of danger and disaster to the nation during its history as a kingdom. Exaggerated accounts of their contents were spread far and wide, and excited the cupidity of Egypt, Babylon, and Assyria. Nearly all the wars in which Israel was involved, and nearly all the sieges which Jerusalem stood, were the result of a hunger for the gold of the Temple and for the immense treasures said to be stored in the Temple treasuries.

We cannot wonder, therefore, that Ezekiel shows an apparent disregard for the treasuries of the Temple. He does not name them in his specification. When he has occasion to measure

the width of the Temple he does so across its façade, and perhaps, as an alternative reading would show, on its western or rear face, where the width of the ground platform was the same as that of its front (item 61). We cannot doubt that the geometric principle on which the Tabernacle and the first Temple court were built was likewise observed in Ezekiel's structure. That principle was that the width of the edifice at its base should be double the measure of its height. The height of the building forming the Temple proper in Ezekiel's plan was composed as follows :—

Air-space of holy chambers above stylobate* and Temple floor . .	24 feet.
Ceiling, beams, and floor of attic .	3 „
Height of attic to interior apex .	12 „
Ceiling, beams, and roof . . .	3 „
Total	42 feet.

This height would require a building-screen before the Temple 84 feet in width. This width is shown in the plan and in item 61, and accounts for two 18-feet treasure-chambers : † which, on the return from Babylon,

* The height of the stylobate, which is included in the similar measures of Solomon's Temple, is omitted here. This is an item of inferiority in the comparison of the two, and arises from a difference in the method of the architectural measurer. For elevation of the first Temple see *Solomon's Temple*, p. 247. Its proportions were 1 : 1½.

† The floor measures of the main rooms in the tower were 24 feet from north to south (item 41) and 12 feet from east to west (item 42). The four walls in a north-to-south section covered 24 feet more. To each of the treasuries there remained thus a length of 18 feet. Those of Solomon's Temple were 12 feet in length.

would be found indispensable as places in which to store the five thousand serving vessels of which Cyrus ordered the restitution.

The priests' chambers, like those in the first Temple, were thirty in number (Ezek. XLI. 6), and, like them, were built in three stories on either side of the Temple and Oracle. The lowest tier, in each case, was embedded in the foundation platform, but in one particular the later rooms were inferior to the earlier. This was in their width, the height and length being the same. Solomon made the "nethermost story five cubits broad" (1 Kings VI. 6). Ezekiel made the breadth of every basement side chamber four cubits (Ezek. XLI. 5). In each Temple the upper stories of the chambers were increased in width by a single cubit, the respective widths being 6, $7\frac{1}{5}$, $8\frac{2}{5}$ feet in Solomon's Temple, and $4\frac{4}{5}$, 6, $7\frac{1}{5}$ feet in Ezekiel's Temple.

If, however, Ezekiel sacrificed something of the comfort of man in his arrangements, he did this in order to attain something toward the greater glory of God. The objects aimed at were two. It had been recorded that rebatements were made by Solomon on the outer face of the Temple walls, in order that the beams for the side chambers should not be supported by the interior walls of the house, but should rest on a half-cubit diminishing ledge of them, free from fixing (1 Kings VI. 6).

Ezekiel determined to improve on this by erecting a separate wall to contain the rebate-

ments. This is called "the wall which belonged to the house for the side chambers"; built in order that the roof beams "might have hold therein, and not have hold in the wall of the house" (Ezek. XLI. 6).

The cubit which was saved (see *ante*) in making the priests' chambers narrower was thus spent, and more than spent, in building an additional wall adjacent to the Temple side walls, in order, not only that the Temple should be an entirely different structure from any built for man, but that no part of it should be used in the service of man. Ezekiel's Temple walls were thus of the same thickness throughout from bottom to top, differing, in this particular, from those of Solomon's Temple.

Other new elements added by Ezekiel were these :—

(*a*) The Temple Galleries

The most essential point in which the Temple of Ezekiel differed from that of Solomon was in the addition of a set of outer galleries or corridors built on the outer sides of the priestly chambers. In the first Temple no provision was made for the constant supervision of the Temple buildings by the Levitical police beyond the allocation of twenty-four guards, as detailed in 1 Chronicles XXVI. 13–19. The stations of these were on the ground level, six being placed on each of the four sides of the Temple.

It is an illustration of the fact that 1 Chronicles X. begins a new division of the book, with an

historical recapitulation of long-past days, that we find in its ninth, and immediately preceding, chapter particulars of the duties and stations of the Levites of the Restoration, particulars which belong to a period several centuries later. This fact is referred to in the parenthesis of verses 19, 20, and 21, which tells us that the ancestors of the Korahite Levites had been keepers of the entry of the House of the Lord since the days of Phinehas, the son of Aaron. The modern Moslem ejaculation of "Upon whom be peace," after the mention of a great name, is here anticipated in the phrase, "The Lord was with him."

We have seen that there were planned for the new Temple of the Restoration twenty-four lodges or sentry-boxes, being six at each of the four gates. To each of these lodges an average of ten Levites was *ultimately* allocated,* or two hundred and forty in all. During the standing of each of the Temples these changed at noon every Sabbath day (2 Chron. XXIII. 8). What is of moment concerning them in this connection is that those not on duty in the time of Ezra are said to have "lodged round about the house of God" (1 Chron. IX. 27). A few verses below this the Levites who were singers, and certain others, are said to have "dwelt in the chambers" (1 Chron. IX. 33).

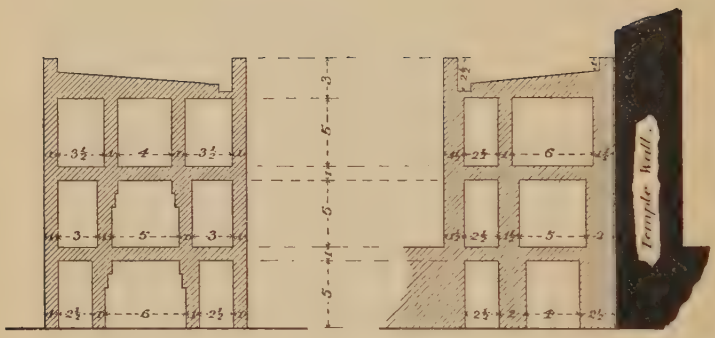
Here is, at once, a domestic distinction which is vital to the Temple plan, as it shows that not

* In chap. XII. p. 221, it is shown that the number of Levites always on gatekeepers' duty in Solomon's Temple was 96, and in Zerubbabel's Temple 112. The number of 240 was that of Herod's Temple.

only were certain prominent Levites housed in the priests' chambers about the Temple, but that certain others had rooms in some other building. This structure—of which we have already had glimpses—will be more fully than hitherto dealt with in the next section of this chapter.

It will, in the meantime, be obvious that, in spite of the fact that the guards were maintained night and day, it would not require ten or even five men to man each guard with a single sentry. The probable number was four, giving to each sentry six hours of duty a day.

There were, however, other sentry-walks. These are called "galleries" in the text, and are mentioned in Ezekiel XLI. 15 and XLII. 5. In the former of these passages the north galleries of the Temple are spoken of as giving, on that side, the limit of a measure, the other end of which terminated at the south galleries of the blocks of chambers (item 66). It is in this way—by working out the over-all measures textually given as they are collected in the Appendix—that we arrive at the fact that the galleries or beats of the Temple police in the structure itself had a uniform breadth of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits or of 3 feet only. The other galleries—i.e. those to the south—varied in width, but in the Temple they were as narrow as it was possible for them to be. This fact is contained in Appendix I, item 58, and may be seen illustrated in the section-drawing herewith. As a matter of course, all these galleries had outlook windows, the very reason of their existence being that the men walking there



EZEKIEL'S TEMPLE.

Section through Priests' and Levites' Chambers, with dimensions in cubits.

Scale 17 feet = 1 inch.
1 cubit = 1½ feet.

To face page 353.

should be able, at every moment, to supervise the surrounding space and guard the House of the Lord against any suspicion of attack or defilement. The capture and fall of the first Temple may have given rise to this expedient, and have been Ezekiel's reason for the addition of these galleries.

As the lowest of the three tiers of Temple galleries lay below the foot-level of the stylobate —supposing there to have been "three tiers" of galleries, as there were of chambers—it is probable that the beneath gallery was used as a conduit to carry off the rain-water falling on the Temple roof. This was so in the Herodian Temple, and may there have been the following of a precedent. The other open conduits within the limits of the interior court and on either side of the Temple* would be used as aqueducts to convey the water from Solomon's Pools, *'Ain Kârim* and any other springs then available. In the proximity of the altar these conduits would act as aqueducts for the supply of fresh water for the Temple. Below the altar they, as drains, were used to carry off the water in which the washings had taken place, as well as the rain-water which fell on the Temple roof.

The illustration on the opposite page may serve to give an idea as to the construction of these police-walks or galleries, which may save further description; the more so as its correctness is guaranteed by the contents of item 59 in

* Items 14 and 15, with footnote.

the Appendix, which tells us that from the outside face of the actual Temple wall to the outside edge of the stylobate was a distance of 20 cubits, or 24 feet, the previous item but one (item 57) telling us that 9 feet of this was not built upon. The width of the lean-to buildings of the Temple—i.e. those above the foundation—was thus 15 feet (12½ cubits), which was devoted to the priestly chambers and their accompanying galleries.

There is one particular in which the galleries were similar to the priests' chambers—to which they served as an addition and protection—which was the having but a single entrance door to both of them on either side of the Temple. As in the Solomonic Temple, these two doors lay behind the shoulders of the house, and to the east of the rooms to which they gave entrance (1 Kings vi. 8).

Ezekiel does not do more than give us the size of the square landing from which both galleries and chambers were entered. This, he tells us, was 6 feet, being a square of that size (item 60). We shall see that in the other sets of galleries and chambers—i.e. those in the south blocks—a similar rule of entering from the east was insisted upon as being of the utmost importance. As the only entrance to the Temple itself was on the east, so it was determined, both in tabernacle and Temples, that the only entrance to their subsidiary buildings should be on their eastern sides. This was intended as a constant reminder and protest against that predominant and almost

universal Nature worship of the old world, which found its most alluring expression of reverence in the worship of the rising sun. In Jehovism every opportunity was taken to dissociate its adherents from the foul and cruel accompaniments of the worship of Baal. One of these was to compel the officials of the Temple to turn their backs toward the east whenever they entered any portion of the holy fabric. Another was to compel all worshippers in the Temple courts to worship Jehovah with their faces looking westward.* Hence the horror which filled the mind of the prophet when, in a vision, he saw "about five-and-twenty men standing between the porch and the altar, with their backs toward the Temple of the LORD, and their faces toward the east: and they worshipped the sun toward the east" (Ezek. VIII. 16).

Let us return, for a moment, to the Levitical chambers of the Inner Court Without (see plan). These, it will be remembered, consisted of two sets, each of five chambers on each of two floors, above the priests' chambers, and were twenty in all. The entrance into these chambers was of the same character as that into the northern or Temple chambers (chap. XLII. 12). In each of the southern blocks "was a door in the head of the way." In the block to the east this door was cut in the thickness of the wall of the court toward

* In the same way, and for the same reason, Muslims are forbidden by the Koran to commence their prayers at sunrise, or exactly at sunset, Mahomet's reason being that infidels worshipped the sun at such times (Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, p. 84).

the east—not in the wall of the 'Ir, but in the gable wall of the block. So with the western block. Entering one of these doors, the visitor ascended a stairway which conducted him at once in the first-floor chambers and their gallery. Above was the second story, which was attained in the same way,* by the continuation of the staircase. The symbolic and educational reason for which this mode of ingress and egress was adopted is that which has already been given (see pp. 354–5).

(*b*) The Buildings of "The inner Court Without"

These buildings stood upon a narrow strip of ground, thirty feet wide, which formed the southern portion of the northern square of the 'Ir enclosure. The site on which they stood had, accordingly, formed a portion of the space enclosed for the first Temple. As such it was the site of some of the feasting colonnades which were attached to that Temple. When, however, the "upper court" of Jeremiah xxxvi. 10 was built, and the colonnades moved into it, there is a possibility that the site would be used to build houses for the accommodation of priests and Levites, which would be sorely needed. Of this, however, in the first Temple, history is silent; and the Levitical chambers, afterwards erected

* This construction is probably that referred to in Nehemiah ix. 4 as the place "upon the stairs of the Levites," from which they led the devotions of the people before the making of the covenant, the audience standing in the south court. The place "upon" or above the stairs of the Levites would be one of the galleries looking southward.

there, come to us as a new element in the development of Ezekiel's specification. In no part of this does the architect attain to such written perspicuity and detail as when he endeavours to set before us the construction of the chambers of the "inner court without." He gives us but one actual measurement, which is that of the length of each block, of 60 feet (item 73); the rest is verbal description.

Having mentioned the "inner court without" in the narrative of his first itinerary as he passed between its buildings, he now adds, in chapter XLII., that he was brought into a chamber, the position of which he is at some trouble to define. It was a chamber which stood on the northern side of the outer court—i.e. on the inner court without. It had on its one side a "separate place," which was the open area of the outer court to the south; and on the other side it stood "over against," or opposite to, the Temple, which he here terms "the building toward the north" (*v.* 1).

In verse 2 the prophet gives us the distances of the two *soregs* between which he found himself. That to the north of him, in these pages called the priests' *soreg*, was a hundred cubits from the north wall of the 'Ir enclosure. He is careful to say that it stood "before the length of" that distance, showing that he took his measurement from a point considerably beyond that at which he stood. This is followed by an extension in the same direction, i.e. from north to south. In this case he tells us that the breadth of the space whereon he stood between the two *soregs*—

i.e. the priests' and the people's—was 50 cubits, or 60 feet (items 67, 68), and that there were 24 feet of clear space between the two main blocks of buildings (item 69).

He then proceeds to describe what he saw from the chamber into which he had been led and from which his observations were taken. Between two spaces, which he now gives, stood a building in three stories, in one of the rooms of which he was. These spaces were, to the north, an open area of 20 cubits to the Temple foundation wall (item 69), and on the south a pavement which belonged to the area of the outer court. This pavement is not that which had been mentioned in its connection with the thirty chambers in chapter XL. 17, 18, which was that to the *north* of the buildings. The whole of the southern court being paved, it is to *that* that reference is made in chapter XLII. 8 (item 74).

Between these two paved spaces, that to the south being higher than the former,* were two blocks of buildings, each containing fifteen cells or rooms, making up the "thirty chambers" of chapter XL. 17. Their most noticeable and characteristic feature is that which the prophet fastens upon in his first reference to them. It is that there was "gallery against gallery," which galleries may be more modernly described as corridors or raised look-out beats for police. These were

* That to the north is described as "the lower pavement" in Ezekiel XL. 18, involving the superior height of some adjoining pavement, which was that to the south.

fixed back to back, on either of their length wall faces, such being the meaning of the expression, "gallery against gallery." The next item of specification is that there was before them, or "inward" of them, a walk of 10 cubits in width and of 100 cubits in length (items 70, 71). This walk is elsewhere named "the lower pavement," and from it, or on to it, the doors of the ten ground-floor rooms of the chambers opened. In archaic phrase, they "were toward the north."

Nowhere do we find any measurement either of the chambers themselves or of the galleries which ran parallel with them. I am, however, indebted to my architect for working out these distances in a professional manner and without any breaking of the cubit or half-cubit length—a point on which Ezekiel is inflexible. The result may be seen in the illustration already given opposite to page 353.*

If Ezekiel does not give us any dimensions of the thirty chambers or of their attendant galleries (data which may be scientifically worked out, as has been done), he gives us, what is of singular importance, a fact otherwise undis-

* The text does not mention, and the drawing does not show, the existence of any look-out windows for the use of the Levitical police as they walked in their galleries. There must have been such in Ezekiel's drawings, and their distribution was either—

5 spaces each of 8 cubits, with 4 windows each of 2½ cubits, totalling 50 cubits.

Or, 1 space, including doorway	5 cubits
9 spaces, each of 4 cubits	36 „
9 windows, each of 1 cubit	9 „
Total	50 cubits

coverable, which is that these chambers grew narrower as they ascended, and that the process by which the Temple chambers altered their sizes was reversed in these. There, the *lowest* tiers were 4 cubits in width ($4\frac{4}{5}$ feet). Here, the *highest* were of this breadth. Otherwise the rooms were of the same size, being 4, 5, and 6 cubits broad, though the Temple chambers were twice the length of the Levitical chambers. Such a construction required the use of the arch, then, and for centuries before, a well-known element of architecture. Those used were probably "gathered arches," such as are shown in the drawing, and technically known as the corbelled vault (Ezek. XLII. 5).

(*c*) The Colonnades

The statement that the Levitical chambers were in three stories of ten each, and that "they had not pillars, as the pillars of the courts" (XLII. 6), is a double-edged affirmation to which considerable importance is to be attached. It involves, first, the use of the arch, as there is no way of putting a smaller over a larger room except by the use of pillars or of an arch. Secondly, the use, here only, of the word "pillars," and the illustrative statement given by Ezekiel that there were in the Levitical chambers no pillars used, such as stood in the Temple courts, is one that is calculated to throw a flood of light upon one of the darkest portions of these archaic architectural terms. In no less than fourteen passages in Ezekiel XL. he uses the word *Elammim*,

which occurs nowhere else in Scripture. The revisers of 1884, representing the first scholarship of England and America, found themselves so far baffled as to put in the margin of its first occurrence (*v.* 16) the note, "The meaning of the Hebrew word is uncertain." They consequently translate it by "arches," with an alternative of "colonnade."

We now find Ezekiel definitely affirming that there were pillars in the outer courts, which pillars were, in all likelihood, steadied and kept in place by transverse beams or lintels. These would form square figures overhead. It is to them that such repeated mention is made, there being colonnades both within and without the 'Ir, the latter standing at each of its three gates. The details are collected in items 76–80 and 84–91.

In putting these colonnades to the credit of Ezekiel it is not intended to be understood that they were his invention or original addition. Undoubtedly there were constructions similar in kind, because intended to serve the same purpose, both in the tabernacle and in Solomon's Temple.* But of these we have no certain knowledge or idea. It is to Ezekiel that we are indebted for a full description of them, and to him, therefore, our acknowledgments are due. It can, further, hardly be doubted that the colonnades designed by him were an architectural improvement upon those which had been destroyed by Shishak and by Nebuchadrezzar.

* See *Solomon's Temple*, pp. 47–49.

According to the main thesis of this book, Ezekiel's plans were already in being when the permission of Cyrus was obtained to the building to Jehovah of a Temple, which should be sixty cubits in breadth and in height. Six feet less than this is, accordingly, the width of the central building, or Temple proper, as drawn from Ezekiel's pages, though the chambers and corridors by which it is flanked, and which are here included, give it an appearance of greater breadth than that of Solomon (cp. p. 344).

In the tower or porch, the forty cubits formerly given to the royal oratory were no longer required, Ezekiel's scheme of Israel's future not admitting of any royal personage. It was the squat appearance of a tower but sixty cubits in height that both drew tears from some of its builders, and moved Herod the Great to rebuild the whole structure, he being then King of the Jews.

The sites of the two Temples now under view having been the same, it is doubtful if their enclosure walls were not the same. Nebuzaradan burnt Solomon's Temple, but the stone walls around it would not burn, and were probably repaired by Zerubbabel.

On the ground level, the most striking difference between the two Temples was that in the latter of them there were no steps between the altar and the porch of the Temple. By Ezekiel these steps were removed to give place to a level surface, and were placed outside the enclosure wall. This transfer allowed the length of his Temple to be increased by thirteen cubits, its eastern line being now built up

flush with the Sakhrah stone. This line still remains, and being in a rock 42×56 feet, immovable, enables us to give not only the orientation of the Second Temple, but also its site to within a few inches. Each of the buildings was 108 feet in length, west of the altar; though this space was, in each case, put to a different use.

The British Museum Library contains, I am told, at least twenty volumes, each of which contains some author's now superseded reconstruction of Ezekiel's Temple.

Whether this book is destined to join those discarded studies of a great subject time alone will show. The theme is one of the most difficult in the whole range of textual and historical exegesis,* and on this account I throw myself upon the large charity of my readers.

Nevertheless, I fully subscribe to the statement that no reconstruction which is not based upon a whole-hearted acceptance of Ezekiel's figures and statements will live or will deserve to live. Further, any acceptance of these which is inconsistent with itself, or which results in faulty architectural construction, deserves—and will inevitably have—the same result.

I cannot hope that I have avoided all the many pitfalls which surround the subject. I am deeply conscious of my own manifold shortcomings and of those of my production. There is, however,

* Wellhausen says, "The chapters XL.–XLVIII. in Ezekiel are the most important in his book, and have been called by J. Orth, not incorrectly, the key of the Old Testament" (*Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, p. 167, edit. 1885).

one class of readers whose hostility I am sure to provoke, and whose anger or contempt I am prepared to meet. These are they who hold nebulous views as to Ezekiel's Temple being yet to be built, and to be the future sanctuary of the millennial saints on Mount Moriah.

One of these good men assures us, from his drawings, that Ezekiel's Temple is to be capable of holding "millions" of worshippers, and ornaments his pages with fancy sketches of what it is to be like.

From all such baseless and distorted visions I turn away, to find in the pages of the prophet the descriptive record of what has already been built and stood for centuries, and which is no more likely to be restored than was its Solomonic predecessor or the tabernacle of Moses.

My appeal is to those sound canons of criticism, and to that calm and patient spirit of historic investigation which is characteristic of the age in which we live.

THE END

APPENDIX I

EZEKIEL'S TEMPLE PLAN

SCHEDULE OF SPECIFICATIONS

In paraphrases and amplifications of the Masoretic Hebrew Text.

No.	Reference.	Architectural Description in modern speech.	Large Cubits.	Ordinary Cubits	Value in English feet.
		I.—THE ENTRANCE GATE, LODGES, AND ALTAR.			
	Ezekiel	(*a*) Outer Wall and Steps.			
1	xl. 5	Thickness of enclosing wall or 'Ir..... (Chap. xli. 8 tells us that a reed consisted of "six great cubits.")	1 reed	..	9
2	xl. 5	Height of same above altar-platform, inside measurement at great east gate.....	1 reed	..	9
3	xl. 6	Width of first landing to outside steps of east gate.....	1 reed	..	9
4	xl. 6	Width of second landing to same ..... (For steps, cp. item No. 99.)	1 reed	..	9
		(*b*) East Entrance Gate, Lodges, and Drains.			
5	xl. 7	Over-all length of lodge walls.	1 reed	..	9
6	xl. 7	Over-all width of same.....	1 reed	..	9

No.	Reference.	Architectural Description in modern speech.	Large Cubits.	Ordinary Cubits.	Value in English feet.
	Ezekiel				
7	XL. 7	Space between lodges	..	5	6
8	XL. 7	Width of threshold of east gate, i.e. on the inside	1 reed	..	9
9	XL. 8	Width of gate-porch or interior verandah of same.....	1 reed	..	9
10	XL. 9	Width of same between jamb-posts or uprights (total length 12 feet).....	..	8	$9\frac{3}{5}$
11	XL. 9	Size of each jamb-post of gate —a square of.....	..	2	$2\frac{2}{5}$
12	XL. 11	Width of gate-opening between inner reveals of wall.....	..	10	12
13	XL. 11	Space between inside face of jamb-posts and altar-base, described as "the length of the gate".....	..	13	$15\frac{3}{5}$
		*Main Drain Measures.**			
14	XL. 12	One side of the kerb or "border".....	..	1	$1\frac{1}{5}$
15	XL. 12	Other side of same.....	..	1	$1\frac{1}{5}$
16	XL. 12	Distance of inner—or priests' court — lodge from drain leading from altar (north lodge) †.....	..	6	$7\frac{1}{5}$
17	XL. 12	Distance of fellow lodge from similar drain (south lodge) †	..	6	$7\frac{1}{5}$
18	XL. 13	Distance between outside walls of lodges at east gate, i.e. those facing altar, and nearest to east gate.....	..	25	30

* As the plan and items Nos. 64, 65 show the limit of the priests' court and *soreg* to have been 30 feet away from the inner face of the enclosing wall, there remain, after necessary deductions, 10 cubits (12 feet) for the surface-width of altar-slope, which was uniformly one-half the width of the altar-base, including its drains. This was 24 feet.

† The "border" or drain-kerb is stated to have been "before" or to the east of the lodges. These measures were taken to the edge of the drain, and included the cubit of border on one of its sides.

No.	Reference.	Architectural Description in modern speech.	Large Cubits.	Ordinary Cubits.	Value in English feet.
	Ezekiel				
19	XL. 14	Distance from lodge to lodge in priests' court, along east line of posts of *soreg*. This soreg, or "gate," is described as being "round about" the Temple, i.e. it was before and continued on either side of the house. (See plan)	..	60	72
20	XL. 15	Distance between outer face of east wall of actual Temple, and inside face of enclosure wall. (The area of the Temple porch is included in this distance)	..	50	60
		(*c*) THE GREAT ALTAR.*			
21	XLIII. 13	Depth of cavity of top of altar —literally, its hollow bosom	1	..	1½
22	XLIII. 13	Breadth of outer and of the dividing walls of altar	1	..	1½
23	XLIII. 13	Width of masonry ledge, carrying upper grating	..	1 span	†$\frac{9}{10}$
24	XLIII. 14	Height from platform pavement to upper surface of lower settle	2	..	3
25	XLIII. 14	Width of lower settle	1	..	1½
26	XLIII. 14	Height from lower to upper settle	4	..	6
27	XLIII. 14	Width of upper settle	1	..	1½
28	XLIII. 15	Height from upper settle to top of altar (i.e. Harel), cp. item 21	4	..	6
29	XLIII. 16	Over-all length of upper settle (i.e. Ariel or altar hearth)	12	..	18
30	XLIII. 16	Over-all breadth of upper settle	12	..	18

* See "section" on plan and elevation in chapter III., page 46.

† See *The Tabernacle* volume, pp. 221–26, for this length of a "span."

No.	Reference.	Architectural Description in modern speech.	Large Cubits.	Ordinary Cubits.	Value in English feet.
	Ezekiel				
31	XLIII. 17	Over-all length of lower settle	14	..	21
32	XLIII. 17	Over-all breadth of lower settle	14	..	21
33	XLIII. 17	Width of kerb of altar drain (distinct from main drain, and also from drain leading from altar. Cp. items 14–17)*	½	..	¾
34	XLIII. 17	Width of rim or "bottom" of altar drain, running on three of its sides.....	1	..	1½
		II.—THE INNER COURT, INCLUDING THE SMALLER INTERIOR COURT AND THE MAIN BUILDING.			
		(*a*) INNER COURT AREA.			
35	XL. 47	Length of inner court.....	100	..	150
36	XL. 47	Width of same.....	100	..	150
		(*b*) THE TEMPLE PORCH.			
37	XL. 48	Size of squared oblong composite post—one side	..	5	6

* The construction of the altar-drain was this: The bottom or "rim" of the altar (Sept.) was a large cubit round about it. This was taken as a sunk border, or drain, into which the sacrificial blood was poured. There was thus added to the width of the altar a large cubit on either side, or 3 feet in all, making its whole extent 24′ from north to south. As this was the width of the interior of the Temple, both must have had the same line of axis. On leaving the altar, the sunk drain running north and south narrowed to ⅜′ (7½″). (Cf. items No. 14–15, which give the kerbs to this depression.)

The sunk drains running east and west, and carrying the Temple-water drainage, had the same width, with a border *on either side* of 1 medium cubit in width. Total width 3 feet, as given in footnote to item 61. Three feet across was thus the width of all the main drains, though the construction of the drain on three sides of the altar differed from that of the others. It had two parts only, while they had three. All had the width of 1½ or 3 feet, the 9″ kerb of the altar drain being taken as a part of the pavement.

No.	Reference.	Architectural Description in modern speech.	Large Cubits.	Ordinary Cubits.	Value in English feet.
	Ezekiel				
38	XL. 48	Size of squared oblong composite post—other side (cp. text, Part II, chap. II. pp. 327–8.)	..	5	6
39	XL. 48	Gate hung to post, opening inward, one leaf, width.....	..	3	$3\frac{3}{5}$
40	XL. 48	Gate hung to post, opening inward, other leaf, width.....	..	3	$3\frac{3}{5}$
41	XL. 49	Inside dimension of Temple porch, length N. to S.....	..	20	24
42	XL. 49	Inside dimension of Temple porch—width, including 1 cubit of two top steps leading into the Temple. The inclusion of these is mentioned in the Masoretic text as being a part of this distance	..	11	$13\frac{1}{5}$
		(*c*) THE TEMPLE.*			
43	XLI. 1	Distance from inside face of porch side wall to (and including) outside face of jamb-post, one side.....	..	6	$7\frac{1}{5}$
44	XLI. 1	Distance from inside face of porch side wall to (and including) outside face of jamb-post, other side.....		6	$7\frac{1}{5}$
45	XLI. 2	Width between wall-reveals of door opening between porch and Temple.....	..	10	12
46	XLI. 2	Distance from inside face of Temple side wall to reveal of doorway, one side.....	..	5	6

* i.e. the outer chamber. The only property which is *described* by Ezekiel as being within the Temple is the Altar of Incense. The dimensions of this differed from those given in Exodus XXX. 1, they being much larger than those given by Moses (Ezek. XLI. 22). The table of shewbread is merely named.

No.	Reference.	Architectural Description in modern speech.	Large Cubits.	Ordinary Cubits.	Value in English feet.
	Ezekiel				
47	XLI. 2	Distance from inside face of Temple side wall to reveal of doorway, other side.....	..	5	6
48	XLI. 2	Inside measurement of Temple —length.....	..	40	48
49	XLI. 2	Inside measurement of Temple —width	..	20	24
		(*d*) THE ORACLE.			
50	XLI. 3	Size of jamb-posts, each one a face of.....	..	2	$2\frac{2}{5}$
51	XLI. 3	Width of doorway between jamb-posts	..	6	$7\frac{1}{5}$
52	XLI. 3	Width of door-opening between inner reveals of partition wall	..	7	$8\frac{2}{5}$
53	XLI. 4	Inside measurement of Oracle —length.....	..	20	24
54	XLI. 4	Inside measurement of Oracle —width	..	20	24
		(*e*) THE TEMPLE SIDE-CHAMBERS.*			
55	XLI. 5	Perpendicular height of basement or outer stylobate....	..	6	$7\frac{1}{5}$
56	XLI. 5	Inside width of all chambers in basement floor.....	..	4	$4\frac{4}{5}$
57	XLI. 8	Width of basement, or outer stylobate, on its upper surface.....	1 reed	..	9
58	XLI. 9	Outer walls of priests' chambers, thickness above—including width of top gallery and walls on either side of it — exclusive of "the side chambers that belonged to the house".....	..	5	6

* See "section" on plan, where the construction is developed, also section drawing opposite p. 353.

No.	Reference.	Architectural Description in modern speech.	Large Cubits.	Ordinary Cubits.	Value in English feet.
	Ezekiel				
59	XLI. 10	Combined width of side chambers and basement, i.e. from Temple side wall to edge of raised "foundation".....	..	20	24
60	XLI. 11	Paved landing at foot of stair, a square of.....	..	5	6
		(*f*) GENERAL MEASUREMENTS.			
61	XLI. 12	Width of façade of Temple porch (taken to the west of the altar space).....	..	70	84*
62	XLI. 12	Thickness of outer wall of Temple building, throughout, i.e. "round about"....	..	5	6
63	XLI. 12	Length of side walls of "house," or whole Temple building, including porch (cp. note on p. 376).....	..	90	108
64	XLI. 13	Width of "house," N. to S., including the vacant space between the two buildings. This measure is taken from the outer face of the porch wall on the north.....	..	100	120
		N.B.—The second locution, 'an hundred cubits long," in verse 13, is understood as intended to be explanatory of the spaces of the first 100, reproduced in item 64. As being in reality an i.e. or parenthesis, it does not receive separate mention here, leaving the number of particulars given exactly 100.			

* This was increased to 90 feet (the width of the priests' or interior court) by a 3-feet space for drains on either side of the Temple and porch. These widths of $2\frac{1}{2}$ ordinary cubits were thus apportioned: $\frac{1}{2}$ cubit ($7\frac{1}{5}$ inches) was given to the sunk surface-width of the drain. On either of its two sides was a "border," or drain-kerb, of a cubit in width ($1\frac{1}{5}$ feet), the whole being 3 feet across. (Cp. footnote to item 33.)

No.	Reference.	Architectural Description in modern speech.	Large Cubits.	Ordinary Cubits.	Value in English feet.
	Ezekiel				
65	XLI. 14	Length of "house," W. to E., including the space before it to the side of the altar	..	100	120
66	XLI. 15	Width from north face of Temple porch to south side of subsidiary buildings in outer court	..	100	120
		III.—THE INNER COURT WITHOUT.			
67	XLII. 2	Position of priests' *soreg*, i.e. its southern line, measuring from the 'Ir wall on the north, "before the length of"	..	100	120
68	XLII. 2	Breadth of the space between the two *soregs*, i.e. that of the priests and that of the laity	..	50	60
69	XLII. 3	Width of section of inner court, i.e. that between the two main blocks of buildings. The following details made up this distance: walk, 12 feet; drain and *soreg*, 3 feet; stylobate, 9 feet.....	..	20	24
70	XLII. 4	Lower paved walk, i.e. its width immediately before the Levitical chambers.....	..	10	12
71	XLII. 4	Length of same *	100	..	150

* As per margin of Revised Version, derived from the Septuagint; the word for "hundred" having dropped out of some Hebrew texts. This measure is given in surveyor's cubits, the area referred to being a section of the inner court (cp. items Nos. 35, 36). Both areas are thus, necessarily, described in the same length-measures. The same measure is obviously used in item 74.

No.	Reference.	Architectural Description in modern speech.	Large Cubits.	Ordinary Cubits.	Value in English feet.
	Ezekiel				
72	XLII. 7	Width of people's *soreg* (fence*) on its north side, above the steps in the southern or outer court	..	50	60
73	XLII. 8	Length of building blocks in "inner court without," each	..	50	60
74	XLII. 8	"Lo, before the Temple were" (i.e. from the south galleries of the Levitical chambers was a view of the whole southern or outer court, which was a square of)	100	..	150
		IV.—THE OUTER COURT AND ITS BUILDINGS.			
		(*a*) OUTER OR SOUTHERN COURT.			
75	XL. 19	Length of outer court.....	100	..	150
	XL. 19	Width of outer court †.....	100	..	150
		(*b*) THE INTERIOR COLONNADES.			
76	XL. 21	Length of north colonnade ‡..	..	50	60
77	XL. 21	Width of north colonnade....	..	25	30
78	XL. 23 §	Distance from entrance gate, i.e. that dividing the two courts, to *soreg* on the south.....	..	100	120

* This is the literal meaning of the Hebrew word *gader*, and is so translated in the R.V. margin of Ezekiel XLII. 7. In late Hebrew the word *soreg* was introduced, having the same meaning.

† This measurement being implied, rather than expressed, has no number. It is possible that the Hebrew text, "*both* on the east and on the north," means from west to east and from north to south. The cubit used was necessarily that of the ground surveyor.

‡ For the use of the word "colonnade" see R.V. Ezekiel XL. 16, margin; also p. 360 ff.

§ (1) This verse refers to the three *soregs* or fences in the Temple. Two of these were in the outer court, running from east to west, one opposite to another, each of them being 100 cubits (120′) from the

No.	Reference.	Architectural Description in modern speech.	Large Cubits.	Ordinary Cubits.	Value in English feet.
	Ezekiel				
79	XL. 25	Length of south colonnade....	..	50	60
80	XL. 25	Width of south colonnade.....	..	25	30
81	XL. 27	Distance, E. and W., from "gate" of *soreg* in outer court to opposite gate of same—"gate to gate." This measure is that of the full extension of the two central colonnades.....	..	100	120
		(*c*) BOILING PLACES FOR THE SACRIFICES.			
82	XLVI. 22	Over-all length of boiling places	..	40	48
83	XLVI. 22	Over-all width of boiling places	..	30	36
		V.—THE OUTER GATES AND COLONNADES.			
		(*a*) THE SOUTH GATE.			
84	XL. 29	Exterior colonnade standing above steps to south gate—length.....	..	50	60

entrance gates lying to their north and south. The word "gate" is sometimes used in an accommodated sense to describe the alternate openings between the posts or colonnade columns forming the *soreg*, as in the sentence, "the gate being round about" the Temple, by which is meant the priestly *soreg*. The third *soreg*, i.e. that "on the east," was in the inner court and on its eastern side, and was 100 cubits from the west wall (Ezek. XL. 14).

(2) Item 81. The distance here given of 100 cubits (120′) necessitates the existence of the two unnamed middle colonnades, extending eastward and westward, and giving to the whole the shape of a Latin cross, completely surrounded by the *soreg* fence.

(3) The third or priestly *soreg* is mentioned in Ezekiel XLI. 13 as a "building" or construction. The Septuagint translation, written while the second Temple still stood, is "The Partitions."

No.	Reference.	Architectural Description in modern speech.	Large Cubits.	Ordinary Cubits.	Value in English feet.
	Ezekiel				
85	XL. 29	Exterior colonnade, standing above steps to south gate—width	..	25	30
86	XL. 30	Stretch of columns of exterior colonnade, showing that the uprights were placed *across* the colonnade	..	25	30
87	XL. 30	Width between columns of colonnade (centre to centre)	..	5	6
		(*b*) THE EAST GATE.			
88	XL. 33	Exterior colonnade, above steps to east gate—length.....	..	50	60
89	XL. 33	Exterior colonnade, above steps to east gate—width.....	..	25	30
		(*c*) THE NORTH GATE.			
90	XL. 36	Platform above steps to north gate—length	..	50	60
91	XL. 36	Platform above steps to north gate—width	..	25	30
		(*d*) SACRIFICIAL DETAILS.			
92	XL. 42	Stone sacrificial table—length*	..	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{4}{5}$
93	XL. 42	Stone sacrificial table—breadth	..	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{4}{5}$
94	XL. 42	Stone sacrificial table—height	..	1	$1\frac{1}{5}$
95	XL. 43	Length of slaughter hooks....	..	1 palm	$\frac{3}{10}$

* The Septuagint gives the length of these tables as being $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits. A clerical error may account for this difference. It is, however, more likely that both figures are right, one being that of the specification, and the other that of the actual size of the tables, as they were constructed.

No.	Reference.		No of steps.
	Ezekiel	DETAILS OF STEPS.*	
96	XL. 22	Approach to interior feasting colonnade from north side	7 steps
97	XL. 26	Approach to interior feasting colonnade from south side	7 steps
98	XL. 31	Approach to exterior colonnade at south gate	8 steps
99	XL. 34	Approach to exterior colonnade at east gate (see items 3 and 4)	8 steps
100	XL. 37	Approach to exterior platform at north gate	8 steps

* The *exterior* steps have a width of 1 great cubit (1½ feet), and a "rise" of 9 inches. The *interior* steps have a width of half an ordinary cubit (7⅗ inches), and a "rise" of the same. These proportions are derived from the Mishna.

NOTE ON THE LENGTH OF THE SECOND TEMPLE.

Item 63, above, gives this as 90 cubits, or 108 feet. A table of sectional details is as follows, it being understood that the extra cubit given to the steps in item 42 was measured in the thickness of the wall dividing the Temple from the porch, as had before been done in the wooden partition of the first Temple. See *Solomon's Temple*, note, p. 230.

West to East.	Building Cubits.	English feet.
Thickness of western gable wall	5	6
Interior length of Oracle	20	24
Wall between Oracle and Temple	5	6
Interior length of Holy Place	40	48
Wall between Temple and Porch	5	6
Width of Porch	10	12
Thickness of eastern gable wall	5	6
Total	90	108

This was also the length of the first Temple (cp. note as above), but there was the difference that in that building the steps and platform before the Temple were counted as a part of it. In the second Temple they were not reckoned. The difference in the length of the two elevations was one of 15 cubits given to the interior and east walls, less the 2 cubits taken up by the displaced wooden partitions. The second Temple was thus both longer and wider than the first, but had a lower porch or tower.

APPENDIX II

COMPARATIVE TOPOGRAPHICAL NAME-LISTS OF JERUSALEM

Comparative topographical lists of gates and other local details of Jerusalem, mentioned in the Book of Nehemiah, are given in the several accounts of (*a*) The inspection of the walls of the city, (*b*) their repair, and (*c*) their dedication. The date of these events is the first half of the fifth century before Christ. The order in which the gates occur here may be compared with that in Appendix III. The information thus obtained is embodied in the plan of Jerusalem, its walls and gates, placed in pocket of cover.

1 Order of the Inspection (Neh. II.).	2 Order of the Repair (Neh. III.).	3 Order of the Dedication (Neh. XII.).
	1. Sheep gate.	8. Sheep gate.
	2. Tower of Hammeah	7. Tower of Hammeah
	3. Tower of Hananel.	6. Tower of Hananel.
	4. Fish gate.	5. Fish gate (2 Chron. XXXIII. 14).
	5. Old gate.	4. Old gate.
	6. The Governor's Seat (see notes on pp. 240,380).	
	7. The Broad Wall.	3. The Broad Wall.
	8. Tower of Furnaces.	2. Tower of the Furnaces.
1. Valley Gate (viz. that leading "toward" the dragon'swell, i.e. the *Bir Eyub*, 600 yards down the valley).	9. Valley Gate.	1. "Above" (i.e. north of) the Gate of Ephraim, which is another name for Valley Gate.

1 Order of the Inspection (Neh. II.).	2 Order of the Repair (Neh. III.).	3 Order of the Dedication (Neh. XII.).
	10. 1000 cubits * (= 1200 feet of blank wall here).	
2. Dung Gate.	11. Dung Gate.	1. Dung Gate.
3. Fountain Gate	12. Fountain Gate.	2. Fountain Gate.
4. The King's Pool.	13. Wall of Siloam.	
	14. The King's garden below the pool.	
	15. The stone stairs.	3. The stairs of David's city.
	16. Opposite the Sepulchre of David.	4. The "house" of David (Job xxx. 23).
	17. The artificial pool.	
	18. The barrack.	
	19. Opposite the way to the armoury.	
	20. A first angle of the wall.	
5. The Brook (Kidron). In riding on the west bank of which Nehemiah passed the items specified in Nos. 15 to 28 of the next, or No. 2 column.	(The Water Gate.†)	5. Water Gate.

* This was the starting-point of the two processions of dedicators, which was on the western wall of the city, near the site of the present Jaffa Gate. As they went in opposite directions, it has been found necessary to arrange the various points of the route of Nehemiah's company in the reverse order to that in which they are given by him in the account of the dedication of the walls (Neh. XII. 38-40).

† Between the first and second angles of the wall occurred the water gate, so the parenthesis of Nehemiah III. 26 tells us. It is particularized as "the water gate toward the east," or "the water gate eastward" (Neh. XII. 37), in order to distinguish it from another gate of the same name, i.e. water gate, in the Temple enclosure (Neh. VIII. 1, 3, 16).

I Order of the Inspection (Neh. II.).	II Order of the Repair (Neh. III.).	III Order of the Dedication (Neh. XII.).
	21. The High Priest's house.	
	22. A second angle of the wall.	
	23. "The corner."	
	24. The tower.	
	25. The upper palace.	
	26. The guard house.	
	27. The *Great* Tower.	
	28. The Horse Gate.	
	29. The Ophel Wall. N. B. — The keeper of the east gate is here mentioned, but not the gate itself. See last footnote to Appendix III, p. 386.	
	30. The Chamber or Treasury.	
	31. The Hall of the Nethinim.	
	32. The Bazar of the Chapmen.	
	33. "Over against" the Gate of Hammiphkad.*	6. Gate of the Guard.†

* These two gates, Nos. 33 and 6, originally were in the quadrangle of the Parbar, and were not city gates in the exterior walls, but interior gates contiguous to one another, as shown in the Parbar plan in the *Solomon's Temple* volume, opposite p. 335.

† At the time of the dedication of the walls the original "Gate of the Guard" had been destroyed by Nebuzaradan, and the name was given to an adjoining gate which stood in the city wall to the west of the Temple, and was originally known as the "Gate behind the Guard." Here the two companies of dedicators met, and descending the stairs there, entered the Temple.

1 Order of the Inspection (Neh. II.).	2 Order of the Repair (Neh. III.).	3 Order of the Dedication (Neh. XII.)
	34. The steps of the corner. 35. Section of wall between the steps of the corner and the Sheep Gate, thus completing the circuit of the walls.	

Further Note on the Governor's House.

(Cp. p. 240.)

The site of this house has deeply interesting associations. In the reign of Josiah (B.C. 640–610) an official named Joshua was Governor of Jerusalem, and had his residence to the south of a traveller as he left the city by what was then its principal gate (2 Kings XXIII. 8). This gate is numbered 3 on the plan of Jerusalem herewith, on the face of which may be seen its various names and its approximate position. When Jerusalem fell every important house was burnt by order of Nebuchadrezzar (2 Kings XXV. 9), this one, doubtless, among others.

On the restoration from Babylon an official residence was provided, to be occupied by the satrap of Samaria on his occasional visits to the city. The site of Joshua's house would be a suitable one on which to erect such a structure. It was distant from the Temple, and near an exit in case of rioting or mutiny. Also it opened on the road to Samaria.

Nehemiah III. 7 tells us that the "old gate," here known as No. 3, having been repaired, the next party of repairers worked at the restoration of the wall as far as "the throne of the governor beyond the river." Strange to say, among the excavated ruins of Jerusalem there are, just at this point, some old and massive foundations, once belonging to a building traditionally known as *Kalat-Jalud*, Goliath's Castle. These are shown on Plate 2 of the *Survey of Western Palestine*, and are described in the Jerusalem volume of that work on pp. 42, 96, 264–5, and 283.

APPENDIX III

Table showing the forty sections of the wall of Jerusalem, repaired 444 B.C., as described in Nehemiah III, and shown on the plan of Jerusalem.

1 Sections numbered as on plan.	2 Description.	3 Repairers.	4 References to Nehemiah III.
1.	The Sheep Gate, rebuilt and roofed.	The High Priest, Eliashib, and a body of priests.	Cp. *vv.* 20–21 for the name of the High Priest.
2.	Section of wall.....	The men of Jericho.	Laity are meant. Cp. section 28.
3.	Section of wall.....	Zaccur, the son of Imri.	A prominent Levite, who sealed the Covenant (Neh. x. 12).
4.	The Fish Gate.....	The sons of Hassenaah.	Cp. text of this volume, pp. 142–3.
5.	Section of wall.....	Meremoth, the son of Uriah.	Also repaired section 27. Cp. *v.* 21.
6.	Section of wall.....	Meshullam, the son of Berechiah, and grandson of Meshezabel, whose son, Pethaiah, was Hebrew representative at the Court of Persia. Cp. p. 180.	Also repaired section 38.
7.	Section of wall.....	Zadok, son of Baana.	A chief of the people (Neh. x. 21.)
8.	Section of wall.....	The Tekoites.	Also repaired section 34. Cp. *v.* 27.
9.	The Old Gate	Joiada and another Meshullam.	Not Joiada, son of the High Priest.
10.	Section of wall.....	The men of Gibeon and of Mizpah	Omit italic interpolation here in R.V. Cp. Sept. Version.

1 Sections numbered as on plan.	2 Description.	3 Repairers.	4 References to Nehemiah III.
11.	Section of wall	Two members of the Goldsmiths' Guild.	See also sections 16, 39, and 40.
12.	Section of wall	The Perfumers' Guild.	
	(Here occurred the Broad Wall).....		Mentioned in Appendix II, p. 377.
13.	Section of wall	Rephaiah, the co-ruler of the district of Jerusalem.	
14.	Section of the wall.....	A private citizen.	Opposite his dwelling-house.
15.	Section of wall	Another private citizen.	Not the Prince Hattush of 1 Chron. III. 22. Cp. p. 134.
16.	Section of wall and the Tower of Furnaces.	Malchijah, the goldsmith, and another private citizen.	Also repaired section 39. Cp. *v.* 31.
17.	Section of wall	Shallum, the co-ruler of the district of Jerusalem.	
18.	The Valley Gate.....	The men of Zanoah.	Cp. Joshua XV. 34.
	(Here occurred 1000 cubits (1200 feet) of blank wall.)		See Appendix II, p. 378, footnote to item 10, column 2.
19.	The Dung Gate	The Rechabite ruler of Beth-cherem.	Cp. Jeremiah VI. 1 and *Mid.* III. 4.
20.	The Fountain Gate and the wall by the Pool of Siloam.	Shallum, ruler of the district of Mizpah.	For Mizpah city cp. *v.* 19 and section 25.

1 Sections numbered as on plan.	2 Description.	3 Repairers.	4 References to Nehemiah III.
21.	Section of wall lying opposite to the sepulchres of David, and as far as the artificial pool and the barrack.	The co-ruler of the district of Beth-Zur.	The other co-ruler is not mentioned as taking any part.
22.	Section of wall	Party of Levites under Rehum.	Head of one of the 24 courses, namely that of Bani (Neh. x. 13).
23.	Section of wall	Co-ruler of the district of Keilah.	
24.	Section of wall	Co-ruler of the same district.	
25.	Section of wall, being parallel to portion of the ascent to the tower, to where it meets the corner.	Ezer, the ruler of Mizpah city.	For the district of Mizpah cp. *v.* 15 and section 20.
26.	A second portion of the same wall, from "the corner" to the door of the High Priest's house.	A private citizen who "earnestly repaired."	Zabbai is here an inferior reading to Zaccai, who led a party at the Restoration.
27.	Section of wall running parallel with house of the High Priest, Eliashib.	Meremoth, head of one of the twenty-four courses of priests. See page 168, which shows the course to which he belonged, namely, that of Hakkoz.	Also repaired section 5. Cp. *v.* 4.

1 Sections numbered as on plan.	2 Description.	3 Repairers.	4 References to Nehemiah III.
28.	Section of wall	The priests of the "Circuit," or Plain of Jericho (14 miles by 8 in diameter.)	Cp. section 2, the repairs to which were effected by the laity of this district.
29.	Section of wall	Two Merarite Levites who lived near.	Cp. 1 Chronicles IX. 14. The Hasshub who assisted is not the same man as he who wrought at section 16. See text.
30.	Section of wall	A private citizen, "beside his own house."	
31.	Section of wall, as far as the corner, and to the turning.	Binnui, the son of Henadad, a prominent Levite, who sealed the Covenant (Neh. X. 9).	
32.	Section of wall opposite the tower that projects from the palace on Ophel, near the prison.	A private citizen.	"The Court of the Guard" mentioned here is not that mentioned by Jeremiah.

1 Sections numbered as on plan.	2 Description.	3 Repairers.	4 References to Nehemiah III.
33.	Section of wall	A private citizen of the party of Parosh.	Cp. p. 141 and note p. 144.
	(The dwellings of the Nethinim occurred here on Ophel,* and were scattered from the Water Gate, in the east wall of Zion, to the projecting tower to its north.)		Cp. parenthesis of Neh. III. 26.
34.	Section of wall opposite the Great Tower, and as far as the wall of Ophel.	This was the second section undertaken by the Tekoites.	Also repaired section 8.
	(The Horse Gate occurred here.).....		Cp. Jeremiah XXXI. 40.
	A section of the Temple area wall—what is now the east wall of the Haram area.	The priests, every one over against his own house.†	Nehemiah III. 28.
35.	Section of wall	Zadok, a priest of the course of Immer, opposite his house.	Cp. Nehemiah VII. 39, 40.

* Ophel being the lower portion of the hill on which the Temple stood, the "Wall of Ophel" was that length of masonry running east and west, which cut the mount into two areas. The giving of the name (=shoulder) was subsequent to the erection of the Temple, as the Temple itself facing the east, the fortress on Ophel represented the right hand of power. Hence the space below the wall corresponded with the "shoulder" of a man. The wall itself was a portion of the outer wall of the city. It is now known as the south wall of the Haram area.

† Nehemiah III. 28. This verse is understood to be a parenthetical statement, having reference to the work done by the priests to their own houses, built above the horse gate, and resting on or near the east wall of the Temple grounds. As the wall to the east of the Temple was not a portion of the city wall, and was not traversed by the dedicators, the work done there receives Nehemiah's passing mention, and does not have enumeration here.

1 Sections numbered as on plan.	2 Description.	3 Repairers.	4 References to Nehemiah III.
36.	Section of wall	Shemaiah, "the keeper of the east gate." *	A member of the royal family of David (1 Chron. III. 22).
37.	Section of wall	Two named friends.	
38.	Section of wall "opposite to his Treasury" (*Sept.* Trans.).	Meshullam, son of Berechiah, who was one of the six porters over the storehouses of the gates (Neh. XII. 25).	He had also repaired section 6. For his family connection see item 6.
39.	Section of wall as far as the halls of the Nethinim and of the Chapmen (opposite the gate of Hammiphkad), and "as far as the steps of the corner" (*Sept.* Trans.).	Malchijah, one of the goldsmiths.	Also repaired section 16. Cp. *v.* 11.
40.	Section of wall lying between "the steps of the corner" and the Sheep Gate, where the repairs began.	The Associated Guilds of Goldsmiths and Chapmen.	See section 11, which was done by two goldsmiths. Cp. *v.* 8.

* This was probably the gate in the east wall that once stood where the Golden Gate now stands. As Shemaiah was neither priest nor Levite, it could not have been a gate in the Temple. It is not said that this gate was repaired. See notes, pp. 330, 333 of this volume.

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